THE

HISTORY

OF

THE NEW WORLD.







D. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,

The Discoverer of the New World.

279 k1

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE NEW WORLD,

BY

Don Juan Baptista Munoz.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH,

WITH

NOTES

BY

THE TRANSLATOR,

AN

ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS,

AND

A MAP OF ESPANOLA.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE motive that gave riſe to the Hiſtory of *America*, will be found in the Dedication of it to the King of *Spain*. The plan, which Mr. *Munoz* digeſted, and the ſources, whence he drew his materials, are ſet forth in the Introductory Preface, in which he has criticiſed with great diffidence, and critical acumen, the productions of thoſe who had written before him on this ſubject, in print and manuſcript. He ſhews under what circumſtances they wrote, or were to write. From the candour, learning,

patience and induſtry of the Author, he appears to have been well calculated for the execution of the undertaking, which was committed to his truſt by his Sovereign. It muſt be confeſſed that he has not only kept pace with all the *American* hiſtorians, but ſurpaſſed them in the narration contained in this Volume, which may be ſeen by a compariſon of the preſent Specimen, with all their printed works, early as well as modern. Amongſt the latter, the writings of Dr. *Robertſon* confeſſedly hold the firſt rank, (at leaſt in our own country) in felicity of expreſſion, and brilliancy of ſtile; but in point of intrinſic merit, and a regular ſeries of intereſting facts, Mr. *Munoz*, it is preſumed, will be allowed to take the lead; and this might be naturally expected, as he had acceſs to a vaſt number of documents and original papers, which lay buried in duſt and oblivion, unknown to the

Doctor,

Doctor *, or to any one elſe, till our author called them into light and order. He was alſo enabled, under the auſpices of two Kings and their Miniſters, to diſſipate many clouds which hung over the Hiſtory of the Diſcovery of the *New World*, and to bring ſeveral inſulated facts into view, which were ſtudiouſly concealed at the time through political motives.

Notwithſtanding, the three firſt voyages of *Columbus*, contained in this Volume, have

* By a ſingular arrangement of *Philip* the Second, the Records of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy are depoſited in the Archives of *Simancas*, near *Valladollid*, at the diſtance of 120 miles from the ſeat of Government, and the ſupreme courts of Juſtice. The papers relative to *America*, and chiefly to that early period of its Hiſtory, towards which my attention was directed, are ſo numerous, that they alone, according to one account, fill the largeſt apartment in the Archive, and according to another, they compoſe eight hundred and ſeventy-three

have been ſo often related, and of courſe generally known, yet Mr. *Munoz* has exhibited in his detail of them greater accuracy, and a more faithful picture of the ſentiments and caſt of thought in thoſe days, than any of his predeceſſors; independent of many ſubordinate circumſtances, overlooked by others, or unknown to them, which he has interwoven with a ſkilful

huge bundles. Conſcious of poſſeſſing, in ſome degree, the induſtry which belongs to an hiſtorian, the proſpect of ſuch a treaſure excited my moſt ardent curioſity; but the proſpect of it only is all that I have enjoyed. *Spain*, with an exceſs of caution, has uniformly thrown a veil over her tranſactions in *America*; from ſtrangers they are concealed with peculiar ſolicitude. Even to her own ſubjects, the Archive of Simancas is not opened without a particular order from the Crown, and after obtaining that, papers cannot be copied without paying fees of office ſo exorbitant, that the expence exceeds what it would be proper to beſtow, when the gratification of literary curioſity is the only object. It is to be hoped that the *Spaniards* will at laſt diſcover this ſyſtem of concealment to be no leſs impolitic than illiberal. *Robertſon*'s Pref. p. 9, 10.

hand,

hand, and arranged every article that could contribute to render the Hiſtory of the firſt voyages, complete and inſtructive in the beſt order. It is true, that in ſome ſingle ſcenes he is not ſo diffuſive as *Herrera*, but on a fair compariſon of both, it will be found, though he ſometimes paſſes over a ſingle detail, which the Father of American Hiſtory dilates with too much minuteneſs, that *Munoz* omits nothing material, or any point that may tend to clear up the ſubject.

The diſtinguiſhed merit of our Author, as the Hiſtorian of the *New World*, is conſpicuous in his plan, which is intended to trace the gradual extenſion of the diſcoveries of *America*, and the manner in which the *Spaniards*, and other *European* nations, poſſeſſed themſelves of different parts of that continent, and the circumjacent iſlands, down to the lateſt period; an important hiſtorical acquiſition; for as yet ſuch a comprehenſive deſign has not been ſketched out, nor

nor is there any complete Hiſtory even of the extenſion of the *Spaniſh* dominions in that quarter. Many intereſting particulars, relative to this ſubject, are yet involved in obſcurity, or only mentioned by particular writers, of whom we have no tranſlations.

The preſent Volume includes but a ſhort period; but as the Author, by recent accounts, is inceſſantly employed in the continuation of the Work, we hope to receive the next Volume in a ſhort time, and ſhall proceed as ſpeedily as poſſible to lay it before the reader in an *Engliſh* dreſs. As to the preſent tranſlation, the utmoſt care has been taken to render it faithful, and to convey the ſenſe of the writer in the ſame plain language in which he has expreſſed it in the original.

The notes which have been annexed, are moſtly tranſlated from the *German* of Profeſſor *Sprengel*, one of the moſt eminent Hiſtorians,

rians, and ſtatiſtical Scholars of *Germany*. As to thoſe which Mr. *Munoz* promiſes himſelf to give, we preſume, they will be added to the ſecond, or ſome ſucceeding Volume. They will undoubtedly be of great value, as he ſays that he will quote his authorities, and adduce the reaſons which govern his judgement, as often as he may differ from other writers; he alſo propoſes to communicate diſcuſſions, which could not, with propriety, be introduced into the body of the narrative.

The Portrait of *Columbus*, and the Map of *Eſpanola*, are engraved after the originals.

TO

TO THE KING.

SIRE,

YOUR Majeſty's father, of glorious memory, commanded me to write the Hiſtory of the *New World:* a Work, if properly executed, of the higheſt importance to Government, to the glory of the Nation, and to the extenſion of the horizon of the learned World. Anxious to render myſelf worthy of a diſtinction ſo highly honourable, the innumerable difficulties, that preſented themſelves, immediately vaniſhed, and my only care was to unite my induſtry and feeble talents in the proſecution of ſo arduous an undertaking. The wiſdom and magnanimity of his Majeſty animated my exer-

exertions; the regal Archives and Libraries were thrown open to my inſpection; Communities and Individuals chearfully followed the royal example; ſo that, by unremitting aſſiduity, I have been enabled to draw from theſe Sources, an immenſe Collection of Documents, particularly Manuſcripts, even beyond my moſt ſanguine expectations. If the ability of the Artiſt were equal to the quantity and quality of the Materials, the Public might then look for a Work of diſtinguiſhed excellence; but my inability dare not aſpire to the gratification of ſuch a hope. I have drawn up the beſt Plan that my judgment could ſuggeſt: how far I have ſucceeded, muſt be left to the deciſion of the unbiaſſed; all that I pretend to ſay with confidence, is, that I have exerted all my power in the impartial ſelection of facts, and that I have endeavoured to detail them in a plain and unadorned ſtile. Conſcious of having thus far diſcharged the important

truſt

truſt repoſed in me, in obedience to his Majeſty's Will, I humbly hope that your Majeſty will condeſcend to accept, with your wonted indulgence, the firſt part of my labours, that I may be enabled, under your auſpices, to continue them for the glory and advantage of your Empire.

JUAN BAPTISTA MUNOZ.

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

OF

THE AUTHOR.

ON the 17th of July, 1779, I received the royal mandate to write the Hiſtory of *America*. At the ſame time his Majeſty ordered, that I ſhould have free acceſs to all the neceſſary documents and writings for that purpoſe. In conſequence of which, I began to examine the archives belonging to the department of *India* at *Madrid*, out of which I copied and extracted all that related to the dominions of Spain in the *New World*. I likewiſe ſought for the depoſitories of a number of papers

which I could not find in this collection. And having received ſufficient information on this ſubject, I repreſented the neceſſity of going to *Salamanca*, *Seville*, *Cadiz*, and many other places. In order to gratify this wiſh, his Majeſty authorized me, by public credentials, dated March 27th, 1781, to make uſe of all the public, monaſtic, and private libraries, as well as archives, in whatever place I ſhould think proper. He was alſo pleaſed to recommend my purſuits and myſelf in very impreſſive terms. Neceſſary orders were alſo iſſued to facilitate the conveyance of the materials with all poſſible diſpatch. All that I deſired was immediately granted, and much more than I could have the confidence to expect, in a manner ſo condeſcending and polite, that I ſhould be guilty of the higheſt injuſtice and ingratitude, if I did not publicly acknowledge the unremitting attention and indulgence with which I have been favoured by the King and

his Miniſtry in my reſearches, and the extraordinary generoſity and liberality held out to excite my induſtry. Nor, can I omit this opportunity of expreſſing the deep ſenſe which I feel of the honour conferred on me in the commiſſion, and the confidence repoſed in me, as there is not the leaſt ſuggeſtion or inſtruction in that inſtrument of the plan that I ſhould purſue, or the ſentiments that I ſhould hold in the proſecution of the undertaking. Every thing that concerned the Work was left entirely to myſelf, and to render my endeavours ſtill more eaſy, I was left at liberty, to conſult the documents myſelf, or to empower others on whom I could depend to examine them, if the diſtance ſhould be inconvenient. His Majeſty's Miniſters favoured and protected all my views. They expreſſed a wiſh, it is true, in the beginning, and in the progreſs of the Work, to ſee a part, or the whole, publiſhed as ſoon as poſſible, in terms of the

greateſt politeneſs, provided it could be done, with ſufficient accuracy and attention, to bring the truth to light.

At the time I embarked in this undertaking, it was impoſſible to calculate the preciſe period that it would require to finiſh it, as I was not thoroughly acquainted with our chief archives, or their contents; it was, beſides, little known what communities or individuals might poſſeſs, either from chance or intereſting views. The want of information on theſe preliminary points, and the little attention paid, for a long period, to the royal archives, and the certainty that ſome of the moſt valuable of theſe papers had been carried off; in ſhort, our inattention with reſpect to theſe matters, led me to ſuppoſe that it would not require many years to extract and arrange all that ſhould appear neceſſary from the manuſcripts. I was not ſingular in this opinion, for

for all that was in general expected, from the ſuppoſed paucity of written materials, were ſome additional proofs and authorities, either to confirm the facts already detailed in printed publications, or to illuſtrate ſome doubtful paſſages.

I was the more confirmed in this opinion, when I examined the regiſters of what is contained in the ſecret archives of the Tribunal of the *Indies*, where I ſcarce found one paper relative to the firſt period. Notwithſtanding the royal orders, that the greateſt number and moſt important papers on the ſubject ſhould be depoſited there, I was not leſs diſappointed in conſulting the reſt of the repoſitories and libraries belonging to this Tribunal, except the Regiſters of Orders, Charters, Treaties, and ſeveral other acts of government, which are kept in the Secret Office belonging to *Peru*. Theſe form a copious and valuable collection,

though many volumes are wanting. Of letters and reports, ſent and made, in conſequence of diſcoveries by viceroys, military commanders, magiſtrates, divines, and other perſons employed in travels, taking views, in conqueſts, eſtabliſhments, &c. there were little or no account at all to be found.

As to the writings of the *Royal Commercial Tribunal*, of which I endeavoured to obtain ſome information, through the medium of ſome inventories, and other enquiries, I was informed that I was not to hope for a large fund in that department, as a conſiderable portion of them had been thrown away as illegible, and the reſt had fallen a prey to the worms. I was apprehenſive that the writings in the Tribunal of the *Indies* had ſhared the ſame fate, nay, even thoſe that had been carried at different times to *Salamanca*.

I ſuſpended

I ſuſpended my judgment, however, with reſpect to theſe head archives, and ventured to flatter myſelf that I might alight on a treaſure that would amply repay my ſolicitude. I was not diſappointed; I alighted on a treaſure, as I may call it, of original writings of all kinds, which lay buried in thoſe places, and which remained almoſt entirely unknown. *Leon Pïnelo* had examined a few of them, and has given an account of their titles, by no means ſufficient to enable a perſon to judge of the whole. *Riól* had examined the Nine Rolls, under the head of *De Patronato*. It does not appear that the remainder arreſted his attention, farther than the bindings and ſuperſcriptions, which was as much as a traveller could do in the ſpace of half an hour, *en paſſant*, who merely came to viſit the fortreſs. While I began to turn over the prodigious maſs of documents, which went under the general title *De Gobiérno*,

and which included all that did not relate to law-ſuits, or judicial tranſactions, (for theſe were claſſed under another general head, viz. *de Juſticia,)* when I began to ſee, I ſay, a vaſt confuſed quantity of letters, reports, diſcourſes, deliberations, declarations, determinations, reſpecting all objects and times; I collected courage, to advance in an undertaking, which I would have found myſelf under the neceſſity of relinquiſhing, without theſe auxiliaries.

I reſolved to purſue the ſame plan in the compoſition of my hiſtory, which thoſe philoſophers called *Reſtauratores*, have adopted in the examination of phyſical ſubjects, namely, general ſcepticiſm, with regard to thoſe works which had already appeared on the Hiſtory of the *New World*, with a firm reſolution to bring every matter of fact that I could find into light, with all their different ramifications, in order to

aſcertain

the truth as far as poſſible, founded on genuine and indiſputable documents. I have uniformly adhered to this determination, notwithſtanding the fatigue of the labour, or the difficulty of the examination. I met with a collection of materials at *Salamanca*, which ſo far exceeded my expectation, that I indulged higher hopes of other archives and libraries, in caſe they ſhould be examined. I had the pleaſure of finding theſe hopes, however ſanguine, realized, eſpecially at *Seville*, as well as in the ancient archives of the Tribunal of the *Indies*, as in thoſe of the town, the church, the *Carthuſian*, cloiſter, and other monaſteries, and alſo amongſt ſeveral individuals. The Exchequer of this Tribunal at *Cadiz* contained a large collection of papers, which were wanting in the archives belonging to it at *Seville*. I alſo found a conſiderable collection in the chief archives of *Portugal*, which are kept in *St. Benito*, at *Liſbon*. *Torre de Tombo*, ſo named from the

the place in which they were formerly depoſited, till the fatal earthquake in the year 1755. I alſo alighted on ſome valuable documents in ſeveral other parts of that kingdom, partly original, and partly authenticated copies. What may not be atchieved by patience and induſtry! I ſhall not preſume to ſay that I have brought together a ſufficient number of documents ſo as to form one continued chain of narration, but I can venture to ſay, that they will furniſh many new and important articles, and that I have ſatisfied myſelf as to the truth of moſt of the principal events, and that I have obtained a clear view with reſpect to the collateral circumſtances, cauſes, and references, which I am certain will diſſipate many doubts, and elucidate many paſſages, hitherto involved in obſcurity, conſidering the ravages of time, I foreſaw that it would be impoſſible that theſe documents, which deſerve the name, would be ſufficient

cient to complete the whole. I expected, however, to derive additional aid from many particular narrations, which had not appeared in print, but compoſed by perſons worthy of credit, ſome of whom were actors in or witneſſes of the events; and others cotemporaries, who drew their accounts from the ſame ſources, and others who lived near the time, and poſſeſſed the original writings, ſince loſt. Of all theſe claſſes, I have obtained many manuſcripts, eſpecially in the Royal Library of *Madrid*, the *Eſcurial*, the Convent of *Monſerat*, the Colleges of *Saint Bartholomew* and *Cuença*, at *Salamanca*, alſo in *Saint Gregory*, in *Valladolid*, the Cathedral at *Palencia*, in *Sacromonte* in *Granada*, the Convents of *Saint Francis* at *Toloſa*, *Saint Dominick* in *Malaga*, *Saint Acaſio*, *Saint Joſeph*, and *Iſidore del Campo* at *Seville*.

In

In theſe and ſeveral other places, I diſcovered, independent of theſe M.S.S. ſeveral hiſtories, chronicles, and other writings relative to *America*, ſome of which are more intereſting than thoſe which were hitherto ſubmitted to public inſpection. In ſome of them, matters of fact are more ſure and certain; in ſome, alſo, are found the originals, from which leſs authenticated copies have been drawn, and others contain matters which are treated with particular ſkill and addreſs, which have been omitted in the printed copies. I have even found the originals of printed works uſeful, as they exhibit the text in its genuine ſtate, free from interpolations, which often ariſe from many reaſons, well known to thoſe who are in the habits of detecting ſuch impoſtures, by a careful examination of parallel paſſages, together with critical notes, and remarks on ſeveral writings, partly edited, and in-

edited

edited, by which I have been able to attain a ſolid and ſufficient knowledge of them, and to avoid certain errors into which I ſhould have otherwiſe fallen.

For the preſent this curſory account of the documents and manuſcripts which I have amaſſed through inceſſant labour and aſſiduity, and which I conſtantly ſtudy and examine, may ſuffice, as I intend to give a more accurate and complete account of their merits and contents, in a more convenient and ſuitable place. I feel myſelf now called on, to add ſomething to the merit and utility of the works already printed, and which I have peruſed in the execution of this volume.

The Admiral *Don Chriſtopher Columbus* wrote a ſhort narrative himſelf of his firſt diſcovery, which was tranſlated into half barbarous *Latin*, by *Leandro de Coſco*, and publiſhed

publiſhed at *Rome* in the year 1493*. This was afterwards reprinted, and appeared, though not in a correct or faultleſs manner, in the well known *Hiſpania Illuſtrata* of *Andrew Schott*. I have chiefly made uſe of the original text, which the court chaplain, *Andreo Bernaldez*, has almoſt entirely preſerved in his unedited Hiſtory of the Catholic Kings. I have likewiſe made uſe of other little writings of the Admiral, part of which have been ſingly printed, ſuch as his Teſtamentary Diſpoſition, and part are found in ſeveral Memoirs and later publications, ſuch as the papers concerning the law-ſuits among his deſcendants, a panegyric which appeared fourteen years ſince at *Parma*, and eſpecially the account of the life of that illuſtrious navigator, written by his worthy ſon, *Don Fernando*.

* There is a copy of this edition in the King's Library at *Madrid*.

This

This work is highly intereſting with regard to the period of which we are now about to ſpeak, as it contains all the Admiral's papers, with ſome fragments judiciouſly and carefully ſelected. I confeſs that I am much indebted to it, and ſhould be ſtill more ſo, if I had not diſcovered many of the ſame papers, of which the Author availed himſelf, ſometimes entire, ſometimes in copious extracts, and, perhaps, a larger ſhare of documents relative to the government, its diſpoſitions, ordinances, and directions, than he poſſeſſed. *Fernando Columbus* was well calculated for this undertaking. He was learned and enlightened for the age in which he lived; notwithſtanding theſe accompliſhments, he fell into ſome unaccountable errors, for inſtance, in what he ſtates as the cauſe of the Admiral's arrival in *Portugal**; as to the reſt he may

* *Vida del Alm.* Cap. 5. The occurrence, which he miſtakes, as the cauſe of this, took place many years

may be depended on with reſpect to matters of fact in general. It were to be wiſhed that his Spaniſh original, or, at leaſt, a good tranſlation of it could be diſcovered, for we have only the *Italian* tranſlation of it by *Alphonſo Ulloa*, which, in all probability, was made from a corrupt and falſe copy, and from which afterwards the miſerable Spaniſh tranſlation of *Barcia* was taken*.

In

years afterwards; it happened in 1485, as appears from *Sabelico*, whoſe authority he quotes *Rapſod Hiſtoriar. enn.* 10, *Lib.* 8, *Hiſtor. rerum Venet. Dec.* 4, Lib. 3. In the proofs and illuſtrations, which I intend to publiſh at the end of the ſecond volume of my Hiſtory, with which the firſt epoch will be concluded, and which I call the period of our Catholic kings, will be exhibited the errors and overſights of ſeveral writers; for the preſent I ſhall only mention one or more.

* *Don Andrea Gonzalez Barcia*, Royal *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, and Counſellor of State, collected in 1749, three volumes in folio, under the title of *Hiſtoriadores primitives*

A number of falſe ſtatements and abſurdities are to be found in both, which may lead a reader into error that is not poſſeſſed of a good critical judgment. This Life of the Admiral, if read with caution, will render the peruſal of ſeveral other authors unneceſſary, who have not expreſsly written his life. They have, however, paſſed in review before my eyes. As cotemporaries, containing ſo many uſeful things relative to the perſon and diſcoveries of *Columbus*, the following deſerve to be mentioned, namely *Antonio Gallo*, author of a little tract, which *Muratori* has

tivos de las Indias Occidentales. This collection was formed from ſeveral of the firſt *Hiſtoriographers* and *Geographers* of the *New World.* He tranſlated ſome of them, for example, from *Ulricus Schmiedel*, the *German*, who, between 1534 and 1540, noted down the diſcovery of the river *de la Plata*, and the country of *Paraguay.* The Life of *Columbus* (conſiſting of 108 chapters) is prefixed to the firſt volume of this Collection.

T. N.

publiſhed in his voluminous collection of the *Italian* writers, T. 23. *Bartholemy Senarega*, in his Commentaries *De rebus Genuenſibus*, which are inſerted in T. 24 of the ſame collection: *Marco Antonio Sabelico*, in his *Rapſodia*, enn x. lib. 8. At the commencement of the ſixteenth century, almoſt all the hiſtoriographers, and even writers who treated on other ſubjects, mentioned ſomething of the firſt diſcovery of *America*, which they repeated, without any examination, from thoſe who wrote on this ſubject ſolely; for which reaſon, I think it needleſs to cite them, as well as the poets, who endeavoured to raiſe the glory of the Admiral in poetic fictions.

Of thoſe who followed up the diſcoveries of *Columbus*, till the year 1500, no account is extant in public, except that of the famous *Veſpucius*, after whoſe name *Americo*, (he ſigned himſelf *Amerigo*) the *New World*, was acci-

accidentally called *America*, ſome years after his death, which happened on the 22d of February, 1512*. His narrations, publiſhed ſe-

* In an account-book, containing the expenditure of the Treaſurer of the Royal mercantile houſe at *Seville*, there is the following *item:* "Paid, on the 24th of February, 1512, to *Manuel Catano*, Canon of the Church of this town of *Seville*, in his quality as executor of the will of *Amerigo Veſpuche*, lately deceaſed, chief ſteerſman to his Majeſty, 10937 and a half maravedis, which were due to the aforeſaid *Veſpuche* out of the annual ſalary that was allowed to him by his Majeſty, viz. from the firſt of January of the aforeſaid year till the 22d of the month of February, on which day the aforeſaid *Amerigo* died. He was appointed chief ſteerſman, with a ſalary of 50,000 maravadis a year, by virtue of a Royal letter patent, dated at *Burgos* on the 22d of March, 1508, and by another of the ſame date a bounty of 25,000 was granted to him. The ſame ſalary and bounty were granted to his ſucceſſor, *Juan Diaz de Solis*, who was appointed at *Burgos* on the 25th of March, 1512, but with a *proviſo* of giving 10,000 maravadis annually to the widow of *Veſputius Maria Cerezo*, during her life." Anterior to this, the year of *Amerigo*'s death was actually unknown.

parately at different times, and at laſt reduced into one collection, under the care of *Angelo Maria Bandini*, at Florence, in the year 1745 *, have only ſerved me as additional evidence of his impoſtures, which I ſhall diſplay in their proper places. I cannot, however, paſs over this ſtrange inſtance of *Charletanerie*, without one obſervation. *Veſputius*, as a navigator, was placed in almoſt the very laſt rank of the naval adventurers of his day. He was rewarded nevertheleſs in preference to all the reſt, and till of late his memory has not been much leſs reverenced than that of the unrivalled *Columbus* himſelf. Though a thouſand writers have ſtripped the *Florentine*

* The title is *Vita e Lettere di Amerigo Veſpucii, Gentiluomo Florentino raccolte e illuſtrate dal Abbate Ang. Mar. Bandini Firenze.* 1745, 128 p. 4to. Beſides the reprinted reports of the voyages which *Veſpucius* undertook in the ſervice of *Spain* and *Portugal*, the work contains nothing but what is generally known. T. N.

impoſtor

impoſtor of his pilfered laurels, yet he has not been without his defenders, who have attempted to maintain the vain glory of their hero by the help of poetical fictions, and inſtead of promiſed authentic documents, think it ſufficient to refer to Moreri*.

Now

* This is the mode which *Bandini* purſues in his Life of *Veſputius*, which he prefixed to the foregoing Narratives. He attributes imaginary voyages to him, which are as devoid of truth as the dreaming reveries of *Hieronymuſne Bartholomy* in his poem *La America*, publiſhed at *Rome* in 1650. *Felice* paſſes as the reputed author of the Lives of the celebrated Men and Women of *Italy*, which appeared in the French language at *Yverdon* in 1768, in two volumes 12mo. The ſecond volume concludes with the life of *Veſputius*, of which the author ſeems very proud, ſaying, *Je me flatte que ma patrie tous les gens de Lettres, le public ennemi de l'erreur me ſauront bon grē de ce que je n'ai rien epargnē pour leur retracer Veſpucci ſelon l'exacte verité, que j'ai tirēe des monumens le plus authentiques comme il convient ā un hiſtorien?* And how does he perform this?—He does nothing more than

Now let us ſpeak of the fathers of our National Hiſtory. The firſt was *Pietro Martir*, a native of *Anghiera*, in *Milan*, which he called in Latin *Angleria*; he may be reckoned a *Spaniard*, as he was naturalized in *Spain*, where he paſſed the greateſt and beſt part of his life in the ſervice of the Crown, from the year 1487 (in which *Count Tendilla* took him to *Rome*) till 1526, where he died, at the age of ſixty-nine*. His principal works

draw from *Bandini*, and repeats his errors—nothing of his own; confounding *Herrera* with *Ferreras*, whom he calls an old author and worthy of credit.

* *Martir* took leave of the Pope on the 29th of Auguſt, 1487, as he ſtates in the firſt of his printed letters, dated at *Saragoſa* the firſt of January, 1488. He wrote the laſt chapter of his Decad in the beginning of the year 1526, as the concatenation ſhews, and died in the ſame year, as appears from the epitaph which *Nicolas Antonio* quotes. On the 2d of February, in the ſame year, he accompliſhed the ſixty-ninth year of his age, as he ſays himſelf in the 8th Decad. Chap. 8.

are

are his eight Decads of the *New World*, divided each into ten chapters. He was in poſſeſſion of the letters, narratives, and charts, which related to the conduct and adventures of the *Spaniards* in the *New World*; he had beſides many opportunities of converſing with the chief perſons, who aſſiſted either by their ſwords or their councils in the ſubjugation or government of that country. At length he was appointed one of the Counſellors of the Tribunal of the *Indies* *. He was a well-

* He aſſumed this office (ſays *Caſaus Hiſt. Cronol.* M.S. L. 2, cap. 44.) in the year 1518, and delivered his Royal diploma when I was preſent. He was raiſed to this poſt in the town of *Saragoſa* by the Emperor, immediately on his acceſſion to the throne. At that time, the tribunal of the *Indies* was but an aſſembly of the Counſellors of other tribunals. When, in the year 1524, this tribunal was eſtabliſhed as a particular one, with a Preſident and ſome Counſellors, *Martir* was appointed one of theſe, as he tells us in his 800th letter, and in many other places of his letters and decads.

informed man, fond of writing hiſtorical memoirs; he would have gratified every wiſh, in addition to his inclination, opportunity, and care, in noting down all that paſſed, had he employed more diligence in the examination of the narratives, and in the comparing of them all together, and had he alſo devoted a little more time to the compoſition and refinement of his labours; but in this reſpect he was exceedingly inattentive and negligent. Sometimes, in the interval of the cloth being laid * and the dinner ſerved up, he would write a couple of letters, in the utmoſt haſte, from the firſt narrative that he had juſt received; and in the ſame careleſs manner he wrote all the chapters of his Decads, which he committed to paper at different times; ſo that it ſhould not be matter of ſurpriſe, if accuracy and regular order are not

* The learned *Juan de Vergara* ſays ſo in a letter, the words of which are quoted by *Nicolas Antonio*.

to

to be found in this haſty and undigeſted collection. He alſo attempted to ſpeak of things which had paſſed in the lapſe of ſeveral years, and would confound them; and in general he fell into various miſtakes and errors. When his memory began to fail him, to ſuch a degree as not to be able to recollect what he had firſt written, his negligence prevailed ſo far, that he would not be at the pains to read it over again, in order to amend it. After all, he is entitled to indulgence, in conſequence of the ſincerity with which he confeſſes this himſelf *, as an apology for his reluctance in the publication of his Sketches †.

The

* In many of his Decads, eſpecially in the firſt, chap. 3 and 10, and in the eighth, chap. 8 and 9.

† "*Nobis* (he ſays) *iſta ſervaremus, cuperem. Satuis namque eſt latere, quam incompetis populari dente corrodi.*" Thus he wrote in the letter, which accompanied his works, to Count *Tendilla*, who ſolicited them for publication, which was executed by *Jac. Corumberger*, anno

The Decads, whatever their merit may be, contain many particulars, which are not to be found any where elſe, and written beſides by a cotemporary judicious writer of well-known candour and ſincerity. His letters are alſo entitled to the ſame praiſe, in which, amongſt the chief events of Spain, during a period of thirty-ſeven years, (her brighteſt epoch) thoſe of the *New World*, by the bye, are occaſionally related. But the reader ſhould be on his guard, as well in the peruſal of this work, as in the former. There are many errors in the ſtatements, and ſometimes two letters that were written at different times are blended in one, which

anno 1511. The whole is comprized in a ſlender volume in folio, in which is contained *Legatia Babylonica: Oceani Decas: Poemata: Epigrammata. Antonio de Leprija*, the mirror of *Spain*, as *Martir* calls him, in the letter juſt quoted, was the editor of it, and prefixed a preface to it. In other parts of his works, and in his converſation, he evinced much diffidence with regard to his writings, and great deference to public opinion.

evidently

evidently appears in the 168th*, (according to *Elziver's* Edition, *Amſterdam*, 1670, fol.) and might eaſily be ſhewn in others. I am perſuaded theſe miſtakes ought to be attributed to the collector of the ſingle papers of *Martir*. And I think it would be of eſſential ſervice to the hiſtory of our nation, if ſome perſon would favour the public with a new edition of thoſe Letters in a correct manner; and of ſtill greater uſe, if the Editor would add thoſe of *Lucas Marino Siculo*, another hiſtorical treaſure of the ſame day, which is leſs known than it deſerves to be.

* From the beginning of it, to the words "ad alia nunc deveniamus," he treats of the deeds of *Columbus* in his journey to *Paria* in the year 1498, and at the ſame time alſo mentions the diſcovery of the Pearls in 1500. What follows after theſe words belongs ſolely to the year 1496, but is placed here as if it referred to the whole.

Per-

Perhaps it may not be deemed foreign to the ſubject, as I have mentioned this writer, to quote a paſſage out of *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo*, in that part of his Hiſtory of the Indies, which has never been printed, L. 34, Cap. 3, thus he ſpeaks, though the Prothonotary *Peter Martir*, a Milaneſe, and *Fra. Bernardo Gentil*, a Sicilian, both Hiſtoriographers to his Majeſty, have written of *Indian* affairs, yet it was ſuſpected that they were in want of certain accounts in many things which they mentioned, beſides that their latinity was much affected as well as their ſtile.

Marineo of *Sicily* introduced *Gentil* or *Gentile*, his countryman, to public notice; he was a Dominican friar, lived and taught in *Spain* in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and was famed as a witty poet. The only knowledge I have of his writings, is, that he endeavoured to extol the exploits of

of the great Admiral in heroic verſe*. As to what is ſaid of him in the foregoing paſſage, that he had been an hiſtorian under the Emperor, and that he had touched, though ſlightly, on *India* matters, and that his *Latin* and ſtile were affected and turgid, are acceded to by *Marineo*. But as for the hiſtorical work which is mentioned as printed, and in which the Tranſactions of America are related, it is poſſible that every information might eſcape my enquiry, but it is alſo as poſſible, that it might have found its way into that paſſage through miſtake. That a man ignorant of *Latin* himſelf if we may credit *Fernando Columbus*†, ſhould find fault with the Latin of two excellent Grammarians, in-

* This appears from three Letters of *L. Marineo*, L. 5, 15, and 17. I find no other accounts elſewhere, however, reſpecting this *Fra Bernardo Gentile*.

† Life of the Admiral, chap. 10.

duces

duces me to think that this paſſage had been communicated to *Oviedo*, and foiſted in by him, as he frequently confounded, and miſapplied the literature of others, for which he has been criticiſed by the author juſt quoted.

I ſuſpend my opinion, however, on this, as well as on the ignorance, with which *Oviedo* is taxed, who received the title of the "Hiſtorian of the Indies," and who endeavoured to render his hiſtory univerſal, but his abilities were not equal to an undertaking of ſuch great magnitude. In truth, his knowledge of ancient literature was very confined, as he was unable to call the *Greek* and *Roman* writers to his aid, as his learned cenſor evinces*. He was not, however, an entire ſtranger to the Latin

* It was likewiſe obſerved by *Francis de Tamara*, Suma y breve relacion de todas las *Indias*, cap. 7.

tongue,

tongue, which appears from the frequent uſe he makes of it in his hiſtory, eſpecially in thoſe books which were not publiſhed, and of which many are ſtill in exiſtence. Be it as it may, I ſhall always commend his unwearied diligence, by which he has left many monuments behind him in the different manuſcripts, which I have ſeen in ſeveral libraries. He devoted his chief attention upwards of thirty, or perhaps forty years of his maturer age to the affairs of the *New World*. He obſerved, wrote, and enquired without intermiſſion, and he improved and augmented his manuſcripts with inimitable diligence. It is to be lamented that ſo laudable a curioſity, joined to ſuch induſtry, were not united with more learning. Notwithſtanding, if his perſonal circumſtances, and the age in which he lived, be taken into conſideration, he ought to be prized with reſpect to his natural hiſtory, though he falls infinitely ſhort of *Pliny*, whom

whom he had taken as his model. As a civil hiſtorian his only claim is in having reſcued from oblivion, ſeveral occurrences, to which he was an eye-witneſs, and ſome important relations which chiefly relate to the time of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, as to the period of which we now purpoſe to treat, he can be of little ſervice. Deſtitute of documents and critical powers, and not availing himſelf of the books which he had of *Pietro Martir*, he jumbled dates and facts together, and filled his narrations with fables, which he had heard from different perſons who could not be depended on, and who had forgotten the events, and their conſequences, or who ſometimes abuſed the credulity of our poor chronicler; as a proof of this, it is only neceſſary to caſt an eye over the 13th chapter of the ſecond book.

Martir and *Oviedo* are the ſources, whence all thoſe who have compoſed hiſtories on the ſubject

ſubject of *America* to the ſixteenth century have drawn their accounts. The Narration of the Diſcoveries of *Columbus*, and his followers at the end of the fifteenth, and at the beginning of the ſixteenth centuries, which appeared in the Collection of Voyages, under the title of the *New World*, and firſt printed at *Venice* in 1507, were taken from a manuſcript of the firſt Decad of *Martir*. as he has already obſerved, but he is miſtaken in aſcribing them to *Lewis Cademſto*, without any other reaſon than that they form the continuation of the Voyage of this *Venetian* Navigator*. *Pe-*

* This collection was publiſhed in the Italian, the firſt edition is noticed by *Tirabaſchi Storia della Letterat. Ital.* T. VI. P. I. p. 167. It was ſoon after tranſlated into Latin, its celebrity was increaſed by *Simon Gryneus*, who augmented it conſiderably, and improved the tranſlation. This laſt edition appeared under the title, *Novus Orbis regeonum* et *inſularum veteribus incognitarum. Argent.* 1532. fol. It has been reprinted ſeveral times.

*ritſol** of *Avignon*, the Jew, cotemporary with the author of the *Voyages round the World*, took the few and the bad things, which he cites relative to the *American* Voyages out of this Collection, as alſo the miſerable narrations, which are to be found in the Coſmography of *Munſter* ſome years before, which the latter alſo took from the ſame collection. *John Battiſta*, the learned

* *Abraham Peritſol* wrote at the beginning of the ſixteenth century a kind of Univerſal Geography in Hebrew, in which he enumerated the countries then known, eſpecially the diſcoveries of the *Portugueſe* in *Africa*, and ſome accounts of *America* from the earlieſt and beſt deſcriptions of thoſe times, and copied them with all the faults and marvelous tales, without any examination. The famous *Thomas Hyde* has publiſhed the original with a Latin tranſlation, from a manuſcript in the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*, which he has enriched with notes much more learned than the work deſerves. The title is *Itinera Munde, ſic dicta nempe Geographia Autore Abr. Peritſol Oxonii* 1691. T. N.

collector

collector of Voyages, made an extract from *Martir*, but only from the three firſt Decads. He has, as already mentioned, arranged the narrations in a better manner, eſpecially at the beginning with regard to the perſonal hiſtory of the Admiral, and his negotiations, anterior to the diſcovery of the *New World*. *Ramuſio* alſo publiſhed in his collection the works of *Oviedo* (with whom he held a correſpondence) in a tranſlation, and thus he diffuſed thoſe accounts, which the authors of thoſe times made uſe of, when they touched *en paſſant* on the diſcoveries and eſtabliſhments of the *Spaniards* in *India*.

*Antonio Galvan**, a native of *Portugal*, ſtands ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed in his Treatiſe

* *A. Galvan* wrote a diſcourſe in the *Portugueſe* on ancient and modern Diſcoveries, the laſt edition of which appeared at *Liſbon* in 1731. fol. It was afterwards tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and printed in the Collection of Voyages, publiſhed by *Oſborne*, a bookſeller in *London*, from 1704 to 1747. N. T.

on the Old and New Diſcoveries till 1550, in which he very injudiciouſly abridged, what others had previouſly treated with much more learning and copiouſneſs, without the addition of any important article, except ſome uncertain traditions.

In the year 1552 *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara* publiſhed "*The Univerſal Hiſtory of the Indies and the New World.*" The firſt work that deſerves this name, though the geographical order which he follows throughout the whole, is not the moſt proper and convenient for a production of this kind. *Gomara* was a ſcholar, and maſter of a fine ſtile, if he had only poſſeſſed materials and patience ſufficient for the examination and combination of them; it is not to be doubted, but he would have merited highly of the nation, and the public in general; but he threw whatever he found before him together without ſelection, and truſted to falſe

and

and improbable tales, particularly in the beginning of his book, which he chiefly took from *Oviedo*, traditions, and popular tales. In the ſame year (1552) the biſhop of *Chiapa Fra Bartolomé de las Caſas*, or *Caſaus*, for he ſigned himſelf both ways, publiſhed his celebrated work, entitled "A ſhort *Narrative of the Deſtruction of the Indies*." The offspring of a heated imagination, which ſome deem to be unworthy of ſuch a divine, but the ſame warmth pervaded all his writings, whether intended for the preſs, for the higheſt tribunal, or for the king himſelf. He wrote the work we now allude to forty years after his firſt voyage to America. He introduces an epitome of our diſcoveries and colonies, but exaggerates the outrages of the coloniſts to the natives, as well thoſe which he ſaw, as thoſe which he did not ſee. The hiſtorian can draw very little from ſo ſhort a ſketch. The ſame prelate has left more valuable

works in manuſcript, and which I intend to review in a more proper place. That which he calls a chronicle at one time, and a hiſtory of the *Weſt Indies* at another, is entitled to particular attention, and which in a ſtrict ſenſe exhibits a chronological ſeries of events drawn from authentic documents. He intended to publiſh it in ſix books, but three in folio only appeared, which came down to the year 1520. The beſt accounts out of this work, which really have contributed very much to the illumination of the firſt period, have been worked up in the Decads of *Herrera*, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter.

At the ſame time, I do not know that out of jealouſy to the biſhop of *Chiapa*, *Juan Gines de Sepulveda* was impelled to compoſe ſeven books in Latin "*of the Feats of the Spaniards in the New World.*" The only ſource almoſt whence he drew theſe accounts

counts was *Fernandez de Oviedo*, out of whoſe printed works, he copied and omitted without choice or order, with an intention of publiſhing an epitome of the moſt remarkable events which had taken place in *America*.

He begins his narration in 1492, and carries it down to the year 1521, but ſo ill connected, ſo meagre, and barren of important tranſactions, and at the ſame time ſo full of errors, particularly in the beginning, that if I were not convinced of it by occular demonſtration, I never ſhould have thought that ſuch vile traſh could have iſſued from ſo able a hand. The infirmities of old age fell on him at an earlier period than uſual, which ſo far may plead his apology. Fifteen years before our author began this work, he wrote the hiſtory of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. This laſt is better known, but not ſufficiently made uſe of. *D. Luis de Avila y Zuniga*, in a letter to *Pero Mexia*, ſays, " I have converſed with *Sepulveda* at

Valladolid, and he appeared to me to be very old. The duke of *Alba*, with whom I alſo ſpoke, told me, that *Sepulveda* had aſked him, who was the commander in chief at the German war? The duke ſmiled, and told him, he had the honour of bearing that commiſſion himſelf. Such inattention induces me to think that he might have committed more miſtakes*."

After this able humaniſt, who waſted his time and ſtile in relating what he did not know, I ſhall now introduce a poet to the reader, and by no means a contemptible one, who ſacrificed his abilities and knowledge of *Indian* affairs to the perverſion of real hiſtory. *Juan de Caſtellanos* ſpent the beſt part of his life in ſinging the various events which had ariſen on the continent and iſlands of

* This paſſage is extracted from an original letter, which paſſed through my hands, dated *September* 1548.

the

the *Weſtern* World, from their diſcovery. He wrote them firſt down in proſe, and then turned them into verſe, under the title of *Elegias y Elogios de Varones iluſtres de Indias.* I am in poſſeſſion of three volumes of this work. Biſhop *Fernandez Piedrahita*, made uſe of the fourth in his Hiſtory of the New Kingdom of *Granada.* The firſt volume only was printed in 1589. With reſpect to the occurrences of his day, *Caſtellanos* is a writer of important value; he is indebted to others, particularly *Oviedo*, for what he advances with reſpect to the earlier period eked out by popular traditions and fables, which his fertile imagination embelliſhed, for the purpoſe of filling up the plan which he had previouſly ſketched out.

Y ſi, lector, digerdes ſeſt commento,
Como me lo cantaron os lo cuento*.

And if the reader ſhould call it fiction, I tell it to him, as it was told to me.

* Caſtellanos P. I. Canto 1. oct. 3.

A fine

A fine apology indeed, for the frequent introduction of fiction! after he had promiſed

——— decir la verdad pùra
Sin tell uſar de ficcion ni compaſtura*.

To relate the pure and unadorned truth without fiction. But true it is, what Plato has long ago obſerved, that the poet ſeated on the tripod of the muſes, is not under the guidance of ſober truth, but utters whatever his glowing imagination ſuggeſts, without regard to truth or falſity; and it is ſtill more certain, that poetry ſhould not be indulged in hiſtory.

I ſhall conclude my review of the writers of the ſixteenth century, with a few remarks on *Girolamo Benzoni* of Milan, who publiſhed a hiſtory of the *New World* in *Italian*. This work is well arranged, and interſperſed with judicious, ſarcaſtic, and ſatyrical obſer-

* The ſame P. I. page 55.

vations.

vations. *Urban Calveton*, an *Engliſhman*, tranſlated it into elegant Latin, with explanatory notes, which rendered it ſtill more valuable. *Theodor de Bey* introduced it afterwards into his celebrated collection, which he adorned with ſeveral engravings. *Benzoni* left *America* in 1556. He reſided fifteen years in that quarter, in which time he viſited ſeveral parts of it, which furniſhed him with frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the country. He took the greateſt part of his narration from the writers noticed in this introduction, with ſufficient fidelity, but not always with due examination, and critical acumen, a number of errors have found their way into the firſt part of the work.

Thus the infantile hiſtory of America appeared at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century loaded with infirmities, and unſupported by authentic facts. Many years anterior

to

to this, *Philip* the ſecond very prudently iſſued a wiſe order to collect all kind of documents, reports, and authentic accounts relative to that region. He was the firſt who eſtabliſhed the office of hiſtoriographer of the Indies. *Antonio de Herrera*, was appointed to this ſituation in the year 1596, with the moſt liberal indulgence to enable him to diſcharge a truſt of ſo important a nature. All the neceſſary materials were placed at his command, namely, all the papers of the Royal Rolls and Archives, the official reports ſent to, and brought from the *Indies*, and all the manuſcripts which could be found relative to the ſubject. After which he began to write "*The Univerſal Hiſtory of the Tranſactions of the Caſtilians in the iſlands and Continent of the Ocean;*" and publiſhed in 1601, four *Decads*, which he had delivered two years before, in manuſcript, with applauſe; four more were printed in 1615. We cannot help admiring the rapidity with which he compoſed the former,

former, conſidering that he outſtript in abundance of matter, truth of narration, time, geography and ſtile, all the hiſtorical pens which had hitherto touched on this topic. This praiſe is juſtly due to him, and I ſhall add, that his writings will always be of great uſe to thoſe who wiſh to treat on the affairs of India, as many of the documents and books of which he availed himſelf, are no longer in exiſtence. The faults which *Laet*, *Torquemada*, *Solis*, and ſome others find with him, are not of ſufficient magnitude to eclipſe his glory, or extinguiſh the gratitude of poſterity. Certain it is, however, that a man of ſuch extenſive information, ſuch a maſter of the language, and ſuch powers of ſtile might have obliged the reader with a more finiſhed work. *Herrera* did little more than ſtring the fragments and extracts together, like a man that arranges and digeſts the narratives collected in every quarter, according to years, months

and

and days, as preparatory materials for the hiſtorian. It is lucky that he was a man of erudition, otherwiſe, the haſte with which he wrote might have proved an inlet to innumerable errors. I wiſh to ſpeak only at preſent of thoſe times, of which I intend to treat in my firſt volume. The *protocoles* and ſtate-papers, however light and inſufficient, did not eſcape his attention, and they afforded him ſufficient light, to diſcover the diſorder and confuſion of the narratives of *Pietro Martir*, the inattention, credulity, and tales of *Oviedo*, and his copyiſts and compilers. He followed therefore *Fernando Columbus*, and Biſhop *Caſas*, in his chronological hiſtory, as leaders of more certainty and accurate diligence. But the firſt hiſtorian of the *New World*, that deſerve this title, often contents himſelf with only paſſages word for word, or extracts from theſe two. Sometimes he introduces the documents of other authors, as his own judg-

judgment directs, but on thoſe occaſions, if they ſtumble he ſtumbles with them, and where they only trip he ſometimes falls through giddineſs and volatility. His copies and extracts all bear the mark of hurry, and now and then he uſed to add or omit, without any ſufficient reaſon, as his fancy dictated. I ſhall give proofs of this in its proper place. The chronicle of *Caſas* was his principle ſource, from which he has taken his chief points, but he has corrected the language, and purged the narration from a thouſand abſurdities. He almoſt entirely omits the invectives and violent declamation of the biſhop, not with any intent to palliate the conduct of his countrymen which he paints with equal freedom, temperance, and prudence, as the nature of ſuch a work required. We cannot, however, praiſe him for all his omiſſions. *Caſas* uſed to wave many probable circumſtances, according to his opinion, but his candour would

would not let him deal out ſuch but as conjectures, therefore he uſed to ſay, *I think*, *I ſuppoſe*, *perhaps*, or ſimilar qualifications. *Herrera* omits theſe, and gives for certain, what is doubtful. He alſo relates as matters of fact, what the biſhop details as traditions and opinions merely.

Notwithſtanding theſe and other faults, *Herrera* has been conſidered up to our day, as the principal hiſtorian of *America*, and who could diſpute the palm with him? Where was the judge that could decide? Thoſe that wrote after him, on the firſt period eſpecially, have made uſe of the ſame writers that he conſulted, with leſs judgment. I cannot name one, who has peruſed and compared them together with due caution, and methodical diffidence! No, not one, that can be ſaid to have profited by what has been already printed on the ſubject. Neither, have I found one, who has collected the materials neceſſary to lay the foundation of this

hopes to ſeize, and carry on directly and excluſively that immenſe branch of trade, which

accounts, filled up with the figures of thrones, tents, ſhips, and monſters. The immortal Butler had ſuch geographers in his eye, when he compoſed that well known couplet,

" And o'er unhabitable downs
" Place elephants inſtead of towns."

Africa from weſt to eaſt is equal in extent to *Europe* and *Aſia* together. *Bianco* places countries that belong to *Africa* in *Aſia*. In ſhort, his map may be compared to *Sanudo*'s delineation of the earth in *Bongar*'s collection of the writers of the *Cruſades*, a mere idea of the geography of his time. As his opinion was, that all the known parts of the globe were ſurrounded with water, the reſult was, that according to his own ſyſtem he was obliged to repreſent Africa in that ſituation, but it does not appear that he had the leaſt conception of the ſouthern ſhape of this part of the world. A bay of a ſemicircular form terminates the ſouth of that quarter, which his imaginations has filled with dragons, and negroes with dogs heads. It is therefore impoſſible, after a ſurvey of this map, to admit the author of it as a witneſs in favour of thoſe who aſſert, that *Europe* in his day was acquainted with thoſe parts of the univerſe. His authority becomes the more doubtful, and the ſuppoſition of later

which had hitherto enriched ſo many nations and ſtates one after the other, though it was carried on by a thouſand circuitous ways.

III. Another enterprize ſtill remained worthy of a genius of the firſt claſs, and of intrepid courage. From the notions that were entertained of the eaſtern coaſts of *Aſia*, it was ſuppoſed that they were at an immenſe diſtance from the coaſts and known iſlands of *Europe* and *Africa*. That ſuch an

additions the more probable, as he delineates the *azores* much earlier than they were diſcovered. The ſecond map, which has been quoted ſtill oftener in ſupport of this opinion, is leſs known. *Grazioſus Bennincaſa* is ſaid to be the author by ſome, others, on the contrary aſcribe it to Friar *Maurus*; no one, however, has given an exact deſcription of this map, and its object. *Ramuſio* gave the firſt account of it. *Bennincaſa* after him has chiefly made uſe of *Marco Polo* in preparing it, and others have added ſupplements of their own age. *Ramuſio* ſays, that according to this map the ocean, it is true, ſurrounds *Africa*, but without any particular repreſentation of the real ſituation and ſhape of that continent, or a more exact knowledge of thoſe regions, which were traverſed at a later period by the *Portugueſe*. See vol. della navigationi e Viaggi da Bart. *Ramuſio* p. 17. T. N.

exten-

extenſive ſpace might contain large countries, filled with mighty nations and ſtates, was of courſe a conjecture that naturally followed. What an object of wiſe and laudable curioſity! Even ſuppoſing the diſtance between *Europe*, the weſtern *Africa*, and the entrance of *Aſia* was leſs than it had hitherto been ſuppoſed, or that the interval was only filled by the ocean, in how much ſhorter and more convenient a way might the trade to the *Indies* be carried on by the weſtern courſe! Theſe reflections inceſſantly occupied the mind of the illuſtrious *Genoeſe Chriſt. Columbus*. Well acquainted with all the arts and ſciences, which contribute to the improvement and perfection of navigation, ſtored with ſufficient knowledge of all the known ſeas, which he had acquired by experience, in correſpondence with the philoſophers of all countries, acquainted with all the books extant at the time on the ſubjects of philoſophy, hiſtory, and coſmography, he raiſed his idea above the ſtandard of his day, and conſequently experienced all the oppoſition, contradiction and difficulties, which are uſually enliſted againſt

thoſe, who dare to ſtep aſide from the beaten track. Happy for mankind that *Columbus* united greatneſs of mind, and perſeverance with an enlarged underſtanding, which enabled him, through time and patience, to prevail on a powerful and proſperous prince to protect and patronize his bold undertaking, ſo that he exhibited to the wondering world, ſuch a ſpectacle, as all the collective ages of antiquity could not boaſt. The judicious navigator, far ſuperior to the renowned leader of the Greek *Argonautes*, boldly ſtretches his adventurous wing beyond the limits of ancient navigation. The ſwelling ocean appears twice as large as common opinion repreſented it, and lo, a new world is diſcloſed in its boſom! as I may call it with *Seneca*, whoſe prophecy other *Columbuses* have accompliſhed to the full.

IV. At length this globe appears moſtly covered with water, and in this immenſe liquid field the countries, which encompaſs the north-pole, are ſown, and deſcend to the middle of the ſouthern hemiſphere, which is divided into two chief parts. That part, which con-

contains the Old World, is ſeated on one hemiſphere which begins at the Canary iſlands, and runs towards the eaſt, far extended in all directions over the equator, and ends under the 35th and 44th degree in two peninſulas, one formed by the continent of *Africa*, and the other by the ſouthern iſlands of *Aſia*. On the oppoſite hemiſphere; the ſecond part ſtretches itſelf from the *Canaries* towards the weſt, and includes the *New World*, not very diſtinctly ſeparated from the *Old*, and in length towards the north pole ſomewhat leſs extended. From thence it becomes narrower on both ſides till it forms a narrow iſthmus near the equator, where it becomes again more wide, and ſoon extends to 45 degrees of longitude. It becomes narrower again, and ends in the ſouth in a point under the 56th degree nearly. The great extent of that part of the *New World* called *America*, the immenſe oceans which ſurround it, from the iſlands of *Africa* to the *Archipelago* of *Aſia*, the entire remaining part of the ſouthern hemiſphere, as far as it is navigable, the innumerable iſlands ſcattered near *America*, and the *Pacific* ocean.

Theſe are the weſtern diſcoveries of the *Spaniards*. This is the *New World*, worthy of the name, not only on account of its being unknown to the ancients, but even for the new things which it affords and produces in phyſics and morals.

V. In conſequence of theſe diſcoveries, the ſouthern part of our globe was circumnavigated, and its true form brought to light, together with a knowledge of its principal parts and products, and what was ſtill greater, the ſphere of our ideas was enlarged. This ſmall ſpeck of earth called the habitable world, and which claimed ſo many pretended prerogatives, found in every part that was diſcovered, the ſame nature in all that *uniform* variety that marks and embelliſhes her character. The ſuppoſitious limits of water, cold, and heat with which it was inſulated, vaniſhed. The free and uninterrupted intercourſe with all countries, the navigation of all ſeas being rendered ſafe and familiar, elicited general obſervations and experiments, and furniſhed the means of correcting innumerable errors, to which

fancy

fancy and forward judgment had given birth, on the mere reliance of inſufficient analogy. New countries, new and very different temperaments of ſeaſon in the ſame climate, continual ſpring in one, that had been thought very changeable, ſnow in the torrid zone, and living creatures in all. Such phenomena excited the general admiration, as well as the attention of the philoſophers, who from being rendered cautious by experience, rectified their judgments and deciſions. The continent of *America*, as the principal part of the new diſcovered world, was from the beginning more attended to than the reſt, and has exhibited greater, and more remarkable varieties than the countries known at the time of that diſcovery. It extends to the north, hitherto inacceſſible to obſervation to the 80th degree, or thereabouts. It runs ſouthward about 2700 leagues beyond the equator. It ſeems that the waters, from their natural motion towards the weſt, endeavour to divide it, and they have already ſeparated from the continent that tract of the *Archipelago* between *Florida* and the mouth of the *Oronokoo*, as it is pro-

bable at a former period they ſwallowed up in the ſame manner a ſtill greater tract in the Aſiatic *Archipelago*, and ſo have ſeparated *New Holland*. But this ſeparation in *America* might have been prevented by the large chain of mountains, which unites the north and the ſouth. There is not ſuch another chain on the face of the earth, and the effects which it produces are full as ſingular.

The extenſion and depth of the marſhy ſoils is very conſiderable. Rivers of the greateſt magnitude are fed by lakes and cataracts, ſuch as the river Saint *Laurence*, *Miſſiſſippi*, *Oronokoo*, *Maragnon*, *La Plata*, with which even the largeſt rivers of the old world are not to be compared. The ſandy waſtes, the barren deſerts, the verdant, fertile, and pictureſque grounds of the new world bear the ſame proportion to thoſe of the old. Here nature ſports in all her vigour and fancy. The ſoil is covered with immenſe and impenetrable foreſts, lofty cedars of aſtoniſhing ſize and ſhade. Here ſhe appears in all the opulence, and wanton wilds of an enchantreſs, then as if fatigued,

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and laſtly as if impoveriſhed, if we may judge from barren tracts, and cheerleſs deſarts, which can ſcarce produce the pointed thorn, or the little ſickly ſhrub.

VI. The concurrence of theſe cauſes, and the ſituation of the climates with reſpect to the heavens, and the ſea, give birth to other diverſities not leſs aſtoniſhing, intenſe cold on the ſummit of gentle eminences, predominant humidity, noxious and unwholeſome airs, ſome winds which ordinarily temper the burning beams of the vertic ſun, and others which conſtantly encreaſe the natural cold towards the poles. Tornados that in an inſtant mingle ſandy mountains, plants, animals, building together, or ſcatter them in the air. Seaſons only diſtinguiſhed by rain or dry weather. Rains which fall inceſſantly in one country, very rarely in another, and in ſome not at all. No leſs marvellous are the riches buried in the bowels of the earth. The variety of rare plants, which cover the ſurface of the earth in the greateſt profuſion. The degeneracy of the vegetable race, tranſplanted from other climes,

the

the diverſity in the taſte, colour, and ſize of their fruits. It is true, the *New World* cannot boaſt of the large quadrupeds of the *Old*, but in compenſation the number of inſects and reptiles are infinite. Many of their claſſes, of prodigious magnitude, a thouſand other ſpecies of animals, quite new and extremely different, are to be ſeen. The ſame difference and variety pervades the winged creation.

VII. The variety, however, which marks the human race is ſtill more wonderful. The new world has repreſented in the different races of her inhabitants, ſo many rounds of a lofty ladder, the extremes of which are marked by the *white* and the *black* of the old world. Another ladder ſtill longer, might be formed from the different degrees of barbarity in which they were found, from the line that ſeparates the ſavage man from the beaſt, to the ſemblance of an orderly civilized ſociety. Reaſon preſſed down, the laws of nature enveloped in darkneſs, the groſſeſt idolatry every where predominant, ſavage brutality triumphant,

the

the moſt unnatural vices prevalent, learning and ſcience entirely unknown. A vaſt number of arts, how ſtrange! ſome of them ſtill in their infancy, and only learned by imitation, but not ſo much as a ſingle one taught, ſtudied, or improved on principles. Even agriculture, the firſt of all arts, when brought to what they conſidered its higheſt degree of perfection, ſcarce deſerved that name, and how could it have made a greater progreſs, without the aſſiſtance of cattle, and a knowledge of iron? The moſt finiſhed and ſplendid works, which the luxury and magnificence of their half-clad princes and nobles could boaſt, in the moſt cultivated parts of America, were the efforts of mechaniſm and patience, and after all were not much ſuperior to the ordinary productions of the little wants and conveniencies of the lower claſs of the frequently naked inhabitants. Theſe barbarians, content with their natural ſtate of miſery, ſcarce ever permitted their wiſhes to roam after foreign conveniencies, or to imitate them. Thus every family, tribe, or nation, confined themſelves within the diſtrict in which they lived,

lived, abſorbed in ignorance, the moſt torpid indolence, and lazineſs. Each had its own language, peculiar cuſtoms, idols, and ſuperſtition. It is true that ſome of the natives of *Braſil*, *Terra firma*, the interior provinces of *North America*, and particularly thoſe of New *Spain* and *Peru*, emerged at different times from ſuch miſerable ſituations, and were diſtinguiſhed by more general and copious language, but it does not appear that any of them ever attained to a ſufficient number of general and abſtract ideas, or ſcarce ever taſted the bleſſings of a tranquil government, ſo as to riſe from that depth of obſcurity to the light of true knowledge. Cut off from every intercourſe and acquaintance with enlightened nations, they even forgot the firſt traditions of human kind. The remembrance of the deluge it ſeems was the only event propagated, and preſerved among the people of the New World, though interpolated and wrapped up in fable, as it was amongſt ſeveral civilized nations of the ancient world. But neither this, nor many other opinions and cuſtoms, by means of which ſagacity and learning have united

their

their efforts in purſuit of the origin of the Americans, are ſufficient to ſatisfy reaſon.

The human race ſprung from one ſtock, the deluge deſtroyed it entirely, except the family of *Noah*; imbibed with ſufficient knowledge, they handed down the arts and traditions to poſterity, which they had received from their anceſtors. How comes it then that one branch of this family ſhould entirely forget its origin, and preſerve nothing of theſe arts; not even entruſted with the uſe of iron, and other materials of the firſt neceſſity, and that it ſhould ſink at laſt into the utmoſt ſtupidity, in which almoſt all the *American*, and the inhabitants of the *South Sea* were found?

VIII. Amongſt ſo many unanſwerable queſtions which the population of ſuch countries occaſions, ſeparated from theſe, where the human kind began a ſecond time, and inacceſſible to the ancient navigation, the prodigious difference between the man of both worlds, is undoubtedly a matter of the utmoſt difficulty. Our continent, at

ſeveral

ſeveral times, has been over-ran with barbarians, as well as ſeveral other countries, but none ſo void of ſenſe and feeling, ſo puerile, and ſo far below the dignity of man, as the inhabitants of the Weſt Indies, who were unable to enter into ſociety with any civilized people. As to the uncivilized natives of the Old World, on the contrary, their reaſon was never ſunk ſo low, the ſeeds of good principles were never ſo entirely ſtifled, nay, ſome of them were ſo much improved, that by tractability and example, they arrived, by degrees, to a certain moral equality.

The monuments which ancient times have left us, and the accurate obſervation of man, afford a convincing proof of the exceedingly ſlow growth of arts and ſciences, and how rapid they languiſh or periſh entirely. What are the grounds of prentenſion in ſeveral nations to the invention of letters, to the art of forging and melting iron, but that theſe and other arts, which moſt probably were known in the days of *Adam*, and communicated by *Noah* to his

his children, ſunk again into oblivion amongſt their poſterity, in conſequence of their ſeparation from each other, and their attention and ſtrength employed in fighting with wild beaſts, or in cultivating the rude countries in which they ſettled. The reſult naturally muſt have been, that they never enjoyed any repoſe, and were of courſe entire ſtrangers to thoſe appetites which excite diligence, ſagacity and genius, hence the ignorance, corruption, and brutiſh ſtupidity of the human kind!

After the human race had ſpread itſelf to the remoteſt north of *Europe*, and to the utmoſt eaſt of *Aſia*, where at this time the old and new worlds are ſeparated by a narrow ſtreight or ſeries of iſlands ſituated near each other, one part of the nations, probably the moſt ſavage and ignorant, wandered to America, and accident might have brought them afterwards to the iſlands of the *South Sea*. The greater the diſtance, and the difficulties, they had to encounter in emigrating and ſettling themſelves, they ſerved in proportion to lengthen the period of rude life and ſavage manners, and doubtleſs many centuries after the deluge

paſſed

paſſed away, before theſe wandering hords formed their firſt kingdoms or republics. They remained to the cloſe of the fifteenth century, ſeparated from the reſt of mankind. And after many incidents, having experienced other deluges perhaps, bloody inceſſant wars, and other fatalities incident to the human race, they arrived to that ſtate in which they were diſcovered. The degrees and conditions they paſſed through, the ſucceſſive eſtabliſhments and deſtruction of their kingdoms or republics, their emigrations, and other accidents common in ſociety, have ſunk into profound oblivion, or at leaſt have become confuſed and corrupted. All that has ſurvived the wreck of time, are a few buildings of antiquity, a few faint ſhades of more prominent events, mixed with traditions and fables, full of ambiguity and confuſion.

Latter ages have ſhed more lights, which may be followed with greater certainty, the *Quibos* or *ſtrings* with *knots* in *Peru*, the hieroglyphic paintings of *Mexico*, the ſongs and more modern traditions of both empires, their

this hiſtorical field. In their titles they promiſe an edifice inferior to none; the outſide at all times, is ſplendid without ſolidity; a fit repreſentation of an hiſtorical work, that is not founded on the baſis of fact, and incontrovertible proofs. Plain ſenſe rejects all abſtract ſyſtems, as well in the ſtudy of nature, as in that of ethics. Experiments, obſervations, cool and diſcerning judgment conſentaneous to truth, are the beſt guides to conduct enquiry as well into the knowledge of nature, as into that of human ſociety, and its remarkable events. A faithful exhibition of which, for the purpoſe of forming the human underſtanding and the heart, is the due office of the hiſtorian. And in order to diſcharge this obligation he ought to employ every means within his graſp, ſuitable to the purpoſe.

As to myſelf, I have ſpared neither time nor pains, to amaſs, and digeſt all the ma-

terials that could poſſibly be collected; and to plan, regulate, accompliſh and refine my work. As to the contents and the ſtile, I have endeavoured to conduct my pen according to the precepts of art, and the primary laws of perfect hiſtory. As far as I can recollect, I have advanced nothing but obvious truth, and detailed all incidents of importance with the ſame freedom, and have not attempted to veil any particular from the public view through intereſted motives. This is the exalted privilege and duty of the hiſtorian, in the execution and performance of which he ought not to be deterred by frowns, or led aſide by ſmiles. And he who dares not exerciſe this privilege, under any improper influence or partiality, ought to renounce that difficult ſituation immediately, as I would have done, if ſuch had been my caſe. This freedom however, has its laws, and limits, dictated by prudence, ſober judgment, refined taſte, a becoming

becoming reſpect to decency, public good, chriſtian philanthropy, and in a word, by reaſon and religion. A juſt and rational frankneſs, however laudable and indiſpenſibly neceſſary, ſhould never be permitted to run into licentiouſneſs, invective, or ribaldry. It is highly pernicious and wicked to ſet a bad example in any ſpecies of writings, but ſtill more ſo in hiſtory, of which the great end is to fan the latent ſparks of virtue at once by precept and example, ſo as to abaſh and diſcountenance vice. In conſequence of theſe principles, I relate good and bad things, in a manner, which my judgment tells me is the beſt and moſt juſt. Cautious at the ſame time to drag only into light a certain portion of vice and depravity, ſuch as may be ſufficient to render them deteſted at firſt view, anxious to avoid the leaſt appearance of delight in the relation of them, leſt it ſhould be thought that I indulged a wiſh that others ſhould take plea-

ſure in the peruſal of it. I have ſtudied brevity at my own expence, as I have endeavoured to proportion my words to the weight and importance of my matter, and to diſpoſe of every thing in its proper place, in order to avoid repetition: and I have likewiſe endeavoured to conſult ſuch an order and combination, as to facilitate the underſtanding, and aſſiſt the memory. I have ſcattered ſuch conſiderations and reflections, as I made myſelf in the beginning and progreſs of my labours, with a ſparing hand. I have endeavoured to communicate them to the reader, in the mode in which I exhibit the objects, ſo that the ſeeds of reflexion being thus ſtrewed throughout the whole field of narration, may eaſily ſpring up in the beams of an enlightened and attentive mind.

Having now laid before the reader my exertions and principal views with regard to this

this work, I have only to add, ſomething relative to the œconomy of it. In the execution of the main body of the undertaking, I have followed, as far as I was able, the example of the ancient claſſics, namely, the plain narration, diveſted of quotations, diſputations, and combinations, levelled to the capacity of the generality of readers. At the ſame time, in order to gratify the literati, I ſhall annex at the end of every government, the reaſons upon which the truth of every event is founded, and this in a twofold manner.

The firſt appendix will be devoted to HISTORICAL PROOFS and ELUCIDATIONS, to evince the certainty of my aſſertions, together with the juſt motives which induced me to improve or differ in opinion from writers of credit and celebrity, and to expatiate ſometimes more at length on ſome circumſtances beyond the brevity of Hiſtory, citations,

controverſies, and conjectures will be found in this diviſion, and the paſſages to which they refer, will be noted by appropriate marks. The next diviſion will contain a ſelect *collection* of DOCUMENTS, and ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS. Of theſe, I ſhall add either a more or leſs ample account of their uſe and contents as may appear neceſſary, as well as of other papers, which I do not intend to publiſh, either on account of their bulk or non importance. As to the hiſtorians which have appeared in print, I ſhall ſpeak of them in the preface to each volume, as I have done in the preſent. I don't intend, however, to include all, as that would be an inſurmountable taſk but thoſe only remarkable for their antiquity, or real or pretended merit. USEFUL ORNAMENTS will be alſo added, of which I intend to ſay a few words at the time of their appearance,

I have

I have prefixed the head of *Columbus*, the diſcoverer, to this volume, faithfully engraved with much accuracy. Amongſt many paintings and engravings, ſaid to be ſo many likeneſſes, I could only diſcover one, which deſerves the name, viz. that which is preſerved in the collection of the duke of *Berwick*, and *Liria*, a deſcendant of our hero. A whole length figure probably drawn in the laſt century by an indifferent copyiſt, but in which the maſterly touches of *Antonio del Rincon*, a celebrated painter of our court may be traced. The characteriſtic features of the Admiral, as drawn by his ſon *Fernando Columbus*, have enabled us to ſelect the moſt ſtriking portrait, and to amend the faults, perceptible in ſome lines, which were either miſtaken by the artiſt, or obliterated by time. I have alſo added a map at the end, of the iſle of *Eſpanola*, with the civil and provincial diviſions of the

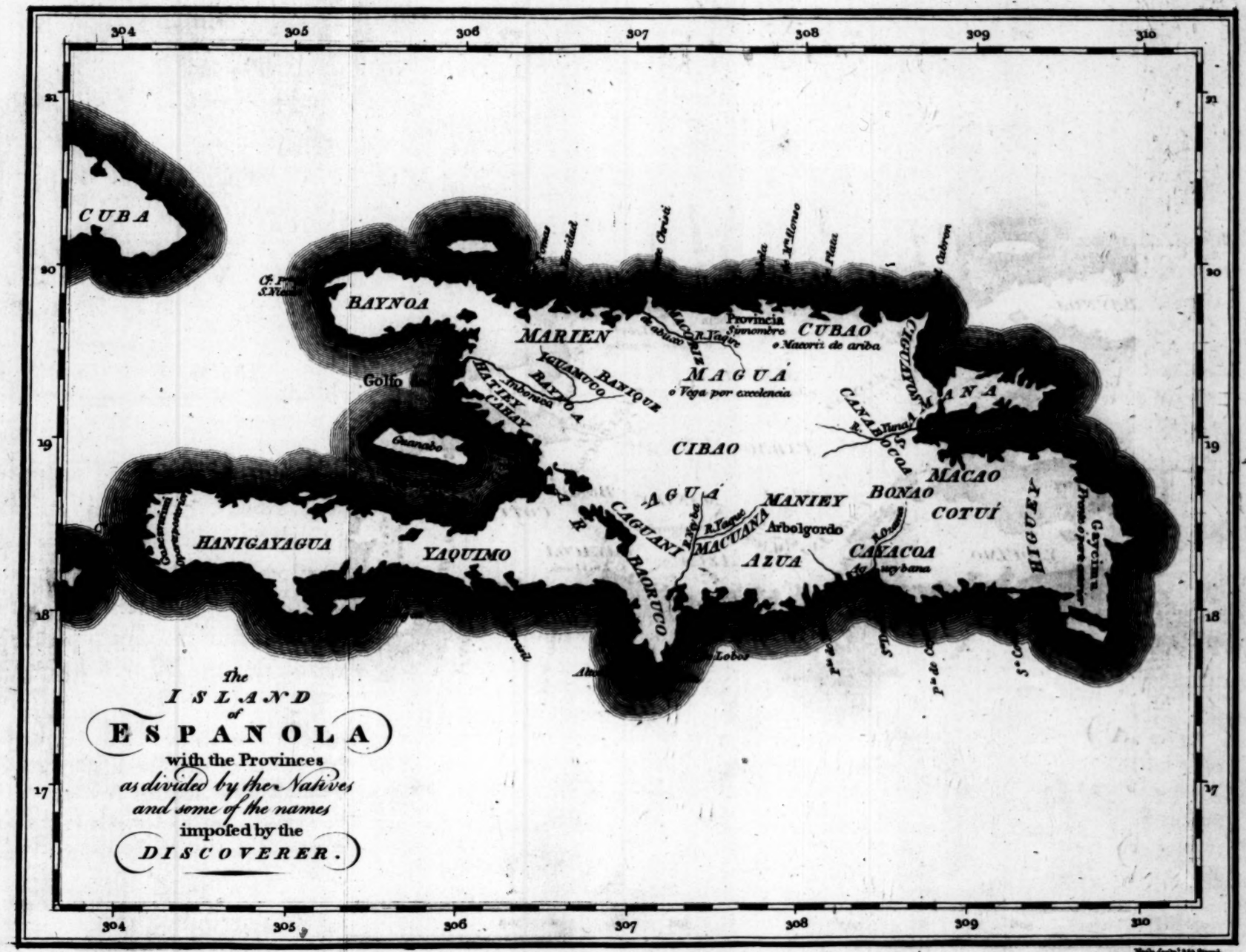
country at the time of the firſt diſcovery and colonization of it, with the names impoſed by the firſt diſcoverers and coloniſts. Similar maps of the ancient ſtate of *Eſpanola*, were publiſhed in the ſixteenth century by *Ramuſio* and his copyiſt *Porcachi*, and in our age by *D'Anville* and *Bellin**. Theſe geographers were conducted by the weak lights, which the printed works of *Martir*, *Oviedo*, and biſhop *Bartholomew de las Caſas* afforded. The preſent one, is delineated after an accurate deſcription, which the ſame prelate gave of the ſaid iſland in the firſt nine chapters of his *Apologetica Hiſtoria*,

* *Ramuſio*, in his Collection T. 3, at the end of the extract of *P. Martir*, of which *Porcachi* made uſe in his work, entitled, "L'Iſole piu famoſe del mondo." *D'Anville* prepared the map, which *Charlevoix* has introduced in his hiſtory of *Eſpanola*, lib. 1. *Bellin* afterwards copied that which is met with in the "*Univerſal Hiſtory of Voyages*," T. 12, p. 19, edit. *Paris*, 4to.

a vo-

a voluminous manuſcript, in which he diſplayed all the ſtores of his knowledge, which he had acquired by reading and travels through the *Indies*.

Finally, I intreat communities and individuals, who may poſſeſs any documents, information, or manuſcripts relative to the Indies, to be ſo kind as to communicate them to me, out of public regard. Thoſe that have, or may contribute any important papers, ſhall be gratefully mentioned in due place, as a public acknowledgment of my obligation to them.



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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

NEW WORLD.

BOOK I.

I. THAT part of the globe which was discovered by the *Spaniards*, in the time of the first Catholic Kings*, was called by our ancestors the *New World*, a name founded in more propriety than that of the ancients, who called the small part of the then known world, the *Whole World*. Geography,

* Our author in more places than one of this work, calls the first period of the *Spanish* discoveries, the *Epoch of the Catholic Kings*, because *Ferdinand* the fifth, and his consort *Isabella* received this title from the *Pope* in 1495, on account of their persecution of the *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Heretics*. T. N.

graphy, in fact, was very much limited, till the period of Roman greatneſs, and even during the ſplendour of that empire, it did not extend beyond the eighth part of the terraqueous globe. Of the three principal parts into which the ancient continent was divided, the entire bounds of the ſmalleſt were far from being known. The moſt extenſive countries, which occupy, perhaps, the half of *Aſia* and *Africa*, were either entirely unknown, or rather darkened than elucidated by the moſt uncertain or imperfect narrations. A thouſand years rolled away, ſince the northern barbarous nations overturned the Roman power, and in all that time, it does not appear that geographic ſtudies made any progreſs. Greenland was not diſcovered till the ninth century, and in the eleventh, the *Cruſades* furniſhed more ample and certain knowledge of the ſouthern and weſtern parts of *Aſia*. In conſequence of this, a deſire of travelling into remote and unknown climes aroſe, a paſſion which was ſtill more indulged in the twelfth century by *Benjamin Ben Jonah*, a *Spaniſh Jew*, a native of *Tudela* in *Navarra*, author of a remarkable book

book of travels*. Several others afterwards ſet out on travels of diſcovery in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, amongſt whom *Marco Polo*, a *Venetian*, and *John Mandeville*, an *Engliſhman*, ſhould hold a conſpicuous place. No great progreſs, however, could be expected till the ſpirit of diſcovering new countries influenced ſome enterprizing prince by the means of navigation.

* The paſſion for travelling, or knowledge of diſtant countries, does not appear to have been much excited by the travels of *Benjamin Ben Jonah*, which was originally written in *Hebrew*, (1160) a language very little known at the time by the *Chriſtians*, it was merely calculated to render his religious brethren attentive to the number and ſituation of each other ſcattered over the face of the earth, under their ſeveral ſovereigns. Beſides, he did not viſit all the countries which he mentions, which an attentive reader will eaſily diſcover, but he frequently quotes the ſources of his information. His work in general is full of fables and errors, ſo that he ſcarcely deſerves the honour of the labours, which ſome modern interpreters have ſpent upon it. There is not the leaſt proof that it was read or uſed in the middle ages. T. N.

II. The

II. This field was opened by the kings of *Caſtile* in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as they ſupported the conqueſts and ſettlements of the *Europeans* in the *Canary* iſlands, which had previouſly been viſited by ſeveral *French* and *Spaniſh* navigators. Thence the bold navigations into the *Atlantic* ocean, remote from the continent, the ſuppoſitions of new iſlands towards the *weſt*, the traffic with the barbarous nations of *Africa*, who exchanged fruit or precious metals for trifles, which were in no eſtimation with us. Hence aroſe the diſtinguiſhed ſplendour of the town of *Seville*, the chief market for ſlaves, and wares of *Africa* and her iſlands, and the extrordinary zeal for nautical adventure on the coaſt of *Andaluſia*. The *Portugueſe*, emulous of the glory of their neighbours, entered into the ſame career, which they proſecuted with vigour and perſeverance; inſomuch, that in a ſhort time after they eclipſed the undertakings of their precurſors by improving the naval ſcience, and extending their maratime trade in an aſtoniſhing manner. Such is the influence and power of the patronage of an exalted perſon,

who

who loves to cheriſh and promote the arts, ſciences, and public good, and to devote his time and endeavours to the advancement of the real honour, and true advantage of his country. *Portugal* obtained both of theſe through the mediation of the immortal infant *Don Henry*, by which an inconſiderable monarchy in the courſe of a century roſe to be the admiration of all Europe, the terror of *Africa*, and the Indies, and her metropolis the rich emporium of commerce.

Notwithſtanding, the ſucceſsful voyages of *Portugal* contributed very much to the richneſs of the crown, the propagation of chriſtianity, and the diffuſion of human knowledge, yet their navigation was confined to the ſeas, and coaſts of the old world, of which the *Europeans* had already ſome faint knowledge, except what related to the ſouthern part of *Africa*, of which it ſeems they were entirely ignorant*, when it was reſolved to

* The opinion, that the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Southern Navigation about *Africa* were unknown to *Europeans* to the year 1486, ſeems to be founded in fact.

This

to ſail in that direction to the ports and ſeas of the *Indies*, and to the *Spice Iſlands*, in hopes

This opinion, has been combated by the learned *Italians*, and thoſe who adopted it in modern times, with little or no ſucceſs. Thoſe writers appeal to two old maps which are to be ſeen at preſent in *Veniçe*, and which are ſaid to exhibit the navigation round *Africa*, and ſome traces of countries to the weſt. The oldeſt of thoſe maps, according to the ſuperſcription, appears to have been delineated in 1436 by *Andreas de Bianco*, and is depoſited in *Saint Mark's* Library. The other is to be found in the Monaſtery of the *Calmandulenſes*. There is a difference of opinion as to the name of the author, and the year in which this laſt was drawn, whether in 1455 or 1471. *Bianco's Atlas* conſiſts of ten maps, and *Farmalioni*, not content with a mere elucidation of it in a work entitled " *Saggio ſulla nautica Antica de Veneziani, Venez* 1783, has alſo given ſeveral ſpecimens to enable the reader to form a judgment of *Bianco's* geographic knowledge, whoſe notion of the ſouth of *Africa* was founded on the general map of the three parts of the world then known, which are not drawn according to their real ſituations, but according to the ideas he had formed of them, in conſequence of the lights and ſhades of information. On this account, we find countries miſplaced, and kingdoms localized that never exiſted. Truth and fable blendid together, and the omiſſions of real geographic accounts

their conſtitutions, acts, religion, policy, habits, and cuſtoms; theſe are the moſt leading documents and proofs of the higheſt degree of their culture and learning: and all theſe are ſo many proofs of the feeble progreſs which reaſon had made in the courſe of ſo long a ſeries of centuries in that part of the globe, through the deprivation of that uſeful light, which never failed to ſhine in a greater or leſs degree from the beginning in the *Old World*.

IX. In the native ſeat of the firſt race of man, a branch of it, which we may call the ſpecies preferred, loved, and choſen by God, preſerved the memory of its origin, the knowledge of its Creator, the practice of the nature of law, and ſome primitive arts. Thoſe that ſettled themſelves near that centre, ſhared the light which flowed from it. Wherefore ſeveral nations of *Aſia*, and their *Egyptian* neighbours, diſpute the palm of the moſt uſeful inventions. Doubtleſs, they made uſe of the art of writing; propagated it, and laid the foundation of literature.

As the ſun of ſcience moved towards the weſt, it enlightened the coaſts of *Africa*, from *Egypt* to the Streight, and the oppoſite coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea, and ſhed its brighteſt beams over *Greece*, where Science fixed her favourite ſeat; there *Europe*, laſt of all, lighted her taper at that refulgent lamp; and in proceſs of time became the preſerver of ſcience, the *alma mater* of arts, and the univerſal miſtreſs of inſtruction. Here the moſt powerful empire was erected that the world ever ſaw, and the center of true religion was eſtabliſhed in the metropolis; the divine author of which came down to raiſe human reaſon to the laſt degree of perfection, by enlightening it with the mild torch of the goſpel. The mind illumined with the beams which flowed from its divine ſource, mariners ſet out from the utmoſt extremity of *Europe* on the diſcovery of unknown regions, and having found a NEW WORLD, and one-half of the human race buried in the thickeſt clouds of ignorance and degeneracy; the whole earth began to be moved, and to change countenance, and ſcarce one part was left that did not experience conſiderable alterations

tions in conſequence of this admirable diſcovery.

X. The *New World*, at that period rude and uncultivated, aſſumes a new ſurface; immenſe woods fall beneath the axe, marſhy tracts are drained, and put on a verdant dreſs; agriculture is introduced with inſtruments unknown to that day, as well as the aid of animals. The natural fruits melt with more agreeable ſweetneſs; tillage is proportioned to the wants and convenience of civil life; bread, wine, and other *European* plants and ſeeds, are cultivated, and the ungrateful waſte, and ſterile ſoil, repays the toil of the tiller with abundance; and beautiful variety, mutual communication, and intercourſe of all countries, hitherto unknown, is opened; and in order to render it more wide and convenient, woods, marſhy grounds, rivers, abyſſes, and other impediments are removed: bridges and paved ways are raiſed and formed. In the room of miſerable thatched huts, and ſhabby villages, compoſed of ſtraggling cottages, without ſymmetry or order, magnificent edifices, po-

pulous towns and villages grace every quarter, which, with reſpect to regularity, taſte, beauty, and convenience, vie with the moſt eminent in *Europe*. The natives, who had ſlumbered for ages in ſloth and ignorance, are amazed, can ſcarce believe their eyes, and look upon their fellow-creatures as beings of a ſuperior order. It is with difficulty that they perſuade themſelves to yield to the light. Every day increaſes the number of coloniſts, and ſwells the reflux of *European* nations, who, maſters of the continent and the iſlands, introduce their religion, government, arts, and cuſtoms. The natives partly retire into the interior countries, where, even at this day, many of them live in all their old barbarity, as they remain unknown, or have not been conquered. Others withdrew from neceſſity, either conſcious of their imbecility or ſubdued in battle. Through an obſtinate reſiſtance, and the ſeverity of the victor, moſt of them, however, were deſtroyed. The ſame fate attended another large body, who periſhed through grief in the bonds of ſlavery, overcome by inſupportable toils, or victims to the plague or other contagious diſtempers,

tempers. Thus theſe natives, who were not very numerous, in proportion to the large extent of country which they inhabited, dwindled in a ſhort time to a little number; and even thoſe, unable to ſurmount the immenſe diſtance between their inferiority and the ſuperiority of their conquerors, have continued moſtly miſerable and deſpiſed; though ſome, who embraced the Chriſtian religion, and learned certain arts and employments, have gained conſiderable advantages, as peaceable and quiet ſubjects to an enlightened government. The *New World* has acquired other and not inferior acquiſitions. The increaſe of the nobler European ſtock of men in theſe countries; the innumerable ſhoal of *Africans* imported thither, to ſupply the ſuppreſſion and decreaſe of the natives; the mixture of the different races which have aroſe in the *New World*; theſe ſpecies of men ſupply in a plentiful manner, if not in number, at leaſt in intrinſic value, the depopulation of the original inhabitants, who became ſcarce in certain iſlands and provinces, or who have been totally extinguiſhed.

XI. The extraordinary effects which theſe ſingular alterations in that part of the *New World* have produced in civilized *Europe*, offer ſomewhat of better appearance. The metals, pearls, and gems, which were found in the hands of the barbarous natives of *America*, were evident proofs of the incalculable treaſures which that country concealed; its extent through all climates excited the flattering hopes of finding in that quarter all the productions and fruits of all the countries of the whole ancient world, eſpecially the drugs and ſpices of the Eaſt. The moſt favourable proſpects preſented themſelves for trade; happily, the experiments that were made anſwered, and in ſome articles excelled expectation. The gain acquired by the firſt adventurers excited the avarice of a number of others. The thirſt of gold inflamed States, as well as individuals, with ſimilar zeal and impatience; the ſpirit of obſervation and ſpeculation poſſeſſed them all, and called forth every expedient calculated to gratify their views.

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The ſeas, hitherto ſolitary, began to be covered with numerous fleets of merchantmen, and veſſels of war. The dread and fear of diſeaſes, ſhipwrecks, and even of death itſelf, diſappeared; an incredible number of wretches, with pallid looks, ſpun out a miſerable exiſtence in mines formed by their own hands, to allay the thirſt which thoſe metals, hid in the bowels of the new earth, had excited. Theſe metals are imported into the old World; the caſh increaſes in circulation and ſtore; the prices of commodities advance; and even ideas and opinions take a higher flight. The *mania* of making new diſcoveries, remote colonies, ſplendid conqueſts, extraordinary commercial tranſactions, as ſo many new ways of acquiring honour and glory, expands, and ſeizes on almoſt every mind—an enthuſiaſm that employed every ſpecies of ingenuity, to make uſe of all the productions which the New World offered at the epoch of its diſcovery, and extremely fruitful in its conſequences.

XII. If this great movement had not taken place, it is probable the invention of the art

of Printing, the arrival of the Greek refugees from *Conſtantinople*, the aſtronomical labours of *Peurbach* and *Regiomontanus*, although new at that time, would have been as ſlow and limited in their conſequences, as in the earlier ages the uſeful part of Arabian literature, the taſte of *Petrarch* and *Dante*, the invention of gunpowder, artillery, and the magnet were; and perhaps the feudal anarchy would have continued, in ſpite of the monarchs who endeavoured to maintain their authority. But the knowledge of the whole globe, the obſervation and intercourſe with all its inhabitants, the extenſion of trade, excited, in a great degree, a diſguſt of jejune ſophiſtry, and idle ſubtilties, and turned the minds of men to the more important ſtudy of nature, that diſplayed herſelf with ſo much luxury and variety in the *New World*. From the days of the immortal *Columbus*, to thoſe of the unparalleled *Cooke*, geography, natural hiſtory, and all experimental ſciences have made a greater progreſs, than they did from their origin in the remoteſt antiquity. The human underſtanding ſeems to have acquired new powers, to treaſure up all the knowledge

ledge of our anceſtors, to derive all poſſible advantage from their inventions, and to diſcover new countries in the world of ideas. The univerſal arithmetics, the higher geometry, the nautical art, civil economy, chymiſtry, and ſeveral other ſciences, either have been created anew, or have attained their true economy and elevation.

XIII. The bold voyages, the great commercial enterpriſes, the immenſe quantity of metals, have transformed the naval and military ſyſtem, altered the political intereſt, and caſt even the moral ſyſtem in a new mould.

The little fragments into which the Roman empire was broken, by the ſucceſſive and ſucceſsful attacks of the northern Barbarians, cemented by degrees again, and at the end of the fifteenth century they formed conſiderable monarchies. The mines of *America*, and the maritime trade, afford the means of prodigious naval and military preparations, and open inexhauſtable reſources. The apprehenſion of greater deſtruction produces moderation; and

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when the deſtructive arms on both ſides have been carried to their higheſt point, the effects ſubſide in proportion to the increaſe of mutual preparations. The war is leſs cruel, the policy more attentive, but at the ſame time more candid and ingenuous; rage and raſhneſs yield to reaſon and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion throughout the whole. The moſt powerful monarchs maintain their rights, ſtop, or prevent injuries or encroachments on the inferior powers, acquire authority to mediate and accommodate conteſts, and thus, by degrees, the balancing ſyſtem forms itſelf, by which all *Europe*, in a certain degree, is moulded into one ſociety, that is ruled according to the law of nations. In proportion as this body, compoſed of ſo many ſtates, gained ſtrength and firmneſs, the arrogance of the *Ottaman* Empire was tamed, which, poſſeſſed of ſo many extenſive countries in the three parts of the old world, and inflated with inſolence by ſo many conqueſts, ſeemed to aim at univerſal domination; and ſince the deſtruction of the chriſtian empire in the *Eaſt*, to have intended the extirpation of chriſtianity, which ſpread abroad, and ſoon acquired

acquired the dominion of immenſe countries; and not only ſtopped the courſe, and broke the towering inſolence of that monſter, but alſo ſtrengthened itſelf in an invincible manner, in the union of ſcience, wealth and power. By degrees, this amiable religion has diffuſed its light every where, and has introduced its laws with rapid velocity. Thoſe people that were at the greateſt diſtance from humanity, in *America*, as in other parts of the world, opened their eyes, and began to liſten to the voice of reaſon. And it is to be hoped, that this humanity, this gentleneſs of morality, which made ſuch progreſs in leſs than three centuries, ſince the two great parts of the world became known, which divided mankind with ſuch inequality of fortune, will in a ſhort time occupy the whole circuit of the earth, and will form a political body, which will be ſtill more cloſely united by the ties of love and concord.

XIV. Such are the flattering hopes which the progreſs of the navigation, the extenſion of commerce, and the colonies attached to *Europe* afford. A ſmall peninſula, ſituated at

at the extreme end of our part of the world, laid the foundation of the great work, and carried it to an aſtoniſhing height in the ſhort period of two governments. The conqueſts and ſettlements of the *Spaniards* in *Africa* and its iſlands, were the firſt ſteps. About half a century later men of obſervation marked the aſtoniſhing enterprize, which was reſerved for the glory of the *Portugueſe* to exhibit, by ſailing round the *Cape of Good Hope*; the reſult of which was the diſcovery of all the unknown coaſts of *Africa*, and a good many of thoſe of *Aſia*. But admiration was ſwallowed up in aſtoniſhment when the thinking world ſaw the weſtern diſcoveries of the *Caſtilians*. This valiant nation, enured by the fatigues and hardſhips of perpetual wars, accuſtomed to fight with the ideas of honour, victory, the cauſe of heaven, and the aſſiſtance of God, delivered from internal enemies, and conſcious of having tamed the inſolence of her neighbours, found a theatre worthy of thoſe ſublime ideas in the *New World*; in the defiance of intervening ſeas, unhealthy ſeaſons in various climates, hunger and mortality,

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed the *Spaniſh* domination, and planted the victorious ſtandard of the crucifix in a country of almoſt boundleſs extent.

Courage, genius, religion, enthuſiaſm, and every thing conſpired to crown the moſt difficult undertaking with ſucceſs. A number of barbarous nations, one after the other, yield to the arms, to the fame of her victories, and the perſuaſion of Spain. The ſpoils of conqueſt, the delicious fruits of the land, and extenſive commerce, raiſed her to a height of power, glory, and magnitude, ſcarce to be equalled by any ſingle power. Cruſhed by her own weight, fatigued and exhauſted by long exertions, lulled into repoſe, and enervated in the ſun-ſhine of fortune and abundance, ſhe was neceſſitated to give up many parts of thoſe immenſe poſſeſſions, which ſhe could neither defend nor govern with ſecurity and propriety, ſo that other *European* powers ſhare theſe countries amongſt themſelves, and cultivate them with ſucceſs and diligence. Rivalſhip, competition, induſtry,

and

and commerce, daily encreaſe, ſo that the *New World* now becomes the chief object of the *Old*.

XV. The ways and means by which *Spain* brought about ſuch great alterations in both hemiſpheres, will be the object of my hiſtory. I ſhall ground it on the entire ſtock of documents which I have been able to collect in archives nnd libraries. Nor have I ſpared any diligence and trouble in the purſuit, and attentive examination of every article in order to aſcertain the truth. This is the chief law that I am reſolved to be guided by, in every article that may ſerve either for inſtruction or example, neither concealing, corrupting, or interpolating any.

BOOK II.

I. IT was as it were by chance, that a faint light ſhone forth from the barbarous ages, which guided the mariner through the immenſe trackleſs deep, in the boſom of which the extenſive countries of the *New World* long lay concealed. From an interpolation made by the *Arabs* in the book, on ſtones, aſcribed to *Ariſtotle*, it is evident that the philoſophers of that nation were acquainted with the ſingular quality of the magnet, which, when put into a ſituation in which it can freely move round, will turn one of its ends always to the north. This ſtone excited the admiration of many, for ſeveral ages paſt, from its virtue of attracting iron, and the new diſcovery furniſhed additional opportunities for experiments. Metal was rubbed to the load ſtone, either by chance or deſign, and it was found that it imbibed both qualities. Hence it was eaſy to conclude, that an iron needle, rubbed by the magnet, and put in *equilibrio*, ſo as to move about

about without conſtraint, would always point to the north with one end, and to the ſouth with the other, and thus directed the navigator on the watery way with certainty. It appears from authentic teſtimonies, that ſo early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, mariners made uſe of this invention, which was improved from time to time, inſomuch that towards the end of the ſame century, the mariner's compaſs, of ſuch immenſe uſe, was brought to the utmoſt perfection *.

Previous

* With reſpect to the properties of the magnet, father Kircher endeavours to prove, that its attraction was known to the Hebrews; and from Plutarch it ſeems to appear, that the Egyptians were not ignorant of it. Pythagoras, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Empedocles, Democritus, Leucippus, Epicurus, and many more of the ancients, knew and admired this wonderful property of the magnet. It was on account of this quality that Thales and Anaxagoras gave it a ſoul; and Plato, who called it the ſtone of Hercules, ſaid, that the cauſe of its attraction was divine. Alſo Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, Dioſcorides, Galen, and others amongſt the ancients, have made particular mention of it.

The

II. Anterior to this period, there was no ſecurity in navigation; as ſoon as the known ſhores

The diſcovery of the verticity or directive property of the magnet or loadſtone, and the communication of that verticity to iron, or, in other words, the invention of the mariner's compaſs, though only a conſequence of the former property, appears to be but of a modern date. It is indeed pretended, that the eaſtern nations were well acquainted with this property of the magnet, long before the Europeans had learned any thing about it. Some ſay that Solomon knew the uſe of the compaſs, and that thereby he was enabled to ſend his mariners to Peru, which was then called Parvaim and Ophir. [See Pineda de rebus Solomonis. L. iv. c. 15.] Other authors affirm, that the Chineſe, about that time, or even earlier than the days of Solomon, were acquainted with this moſt uſeful quality of the magnet. This, however, has been much doubted. [See Du Hald's Hiſtory of China, and the learned Renaudot's Diſſertation on the Chineſe Sciences, &c.]

Flavius Blond affirms, that in or about the year 1302, one John Goia, a noble citizen of Amalphi, a town of Principato, in the kingdom of Naples, firſt diſcovered the mariner's compaſs; and for this he quotes the following verſe from Antony of Palermo, recorded by the Neapolitan hiſtorians; viz.

Primo dedit nautis uſum magnetis Amalphi.

ſhores were out of ſight, the pole-ſtar, the riſing and the ſetting ſun, were the ancient ſeaman's

The arms of the territory of Principato has, it ſeems, ever ſince been a mariner's compaſs. It has alſo with equal confidence been aſſerted, that Marco Paulo, the Venetian, learned the uſe of the mariner's compaſs from the Chineſe; and that he firſt made it known in Italy about the year 1260. But this cannot be true; for M. Paulo did not ſet out on his journey to China before the year 1269, nor did he return before the year 1295. [See Purchaſe's Pilgrim, vol. III.] It ſeems, however, from the documents which will be adduced in the ſequel, that the directive property of the magnet, and the communication of that property to iron, was known in Europe before this time; though to all probability it was not uſed in navigation till ſome time after; which may very reaſonably be attributed to the clumſy way of ſuſpending the magnetic needle, which was at firſt uſed. [The aſſertion of Dr. Wallis ſeems to be well founded; viz. that the magnetic needle, or compaſs, was brought to perfection by gradual ſteps and partial improvements, and that of theſe the Engliſh may claim conſiderable ſhare.]

In the works of Claude Fauchet, entitled, *Recueil de l'origine de la Langue et Poeſie Françoiſ*, fol. 555, there is a quotation from an old French poem, called *la Bible Guiot*, in which the mariner's compaſs is evidently mentioned. This ſame paſſage is likewiſe quoted by Muſchenbrock,

ſeaman's only leaders, which could only be obſerved at fixed hours, and inviſible for many days, if the ſky ſhould be overcaſt. Thus the navigations of the celebrated *Phœnician*, *Carthaginian*, *Greek* and *Roman* mariners, in the remoter days; of the *Arabs*, *Venetians*, *Piſaneſe*, and *Genoeſe* in the middle age. All theſe voyages were made with danger and tardineſs, along the coaſts. They ſcarce ever ventured out of ſight of one coaſt till the other appeared, or at leaſt known to them by ſome marks. The only navigation out of the common track among the ancients was the voyage through the

chenbroc[illegible] *Diſſertatio de Magnete*. The ſingularity of this paſſage having excited my curioſity, I made ſome enquiry after the above-mentioned old poem, in conſequence of which, I found that there was a curious and intereſting quarto manuſcript of the 13th century, on vellum, in what was then juſtly called the Royal Library at Paris. The firſt article in this manuſcript book, which was never publiſhed, is *la Bible Guiot*, the author of which, viz. *Guiot de Provins*, as mentioned in the poem itſelf, was at the court of the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, held at Mentz in the year 1181, when the emperor's two ſons were knighted. [See Chron. Abbot. Urſperg. p. 311.] *Lorimer on Magnetiſm*, p. 6.

large gulph, between the *Red Sea*, and the weſtern coaſts of *Decan*, which, by ſome, are called the *Malabarian*, on account of their chief production, peper. But the *monſoon* or trade wind, ſupplied the want of continent. Theſe winds are known to blow for ſome months in the year, from Eaſt to Weſt, and in ſome others from the oppoſite ſide. As the veſſels were driven by an invariable wind, they could almoſt without any nautical ſkill, ſail through the large Bay, the harbours and coaſts of which were already known and examined. The ancients never ventured on any ſeas, till they had previouſly examined the countries that bounded them. The ſphere of their ideas in this reſpect, was too limited to indulge any plan of exploring new iſlands, or large countries, at any conſiderable diſtance from thoſe that were already known to them. A tempeſt, an unexpected accident, or bold adventure, might lead to a new diſcovery, but theſe accidents generally paſſed away, without any influence on the progreſs of geographic knowledge. Since thoſe that were caſt away on unknown ſhores, either

either remained on them during their lives, unable to leave any marks behind them of their having been there; or if any had the good fortune to return to their native country, they were generally in ſuch a wretched ſtate, that there was neither light, nor courage ſufficient left to guide and prompt them to proſecute ſuch adventitious diſcoveries. The maritime ſpirit that derives advantage from every incident, and even draws ſtrength and courage from misfortunes and dangers, ſo as to undertake the boldeſt adventures, is indebted for its origin to the happy diſcovery of the mariner's compaſs.

III. At the time that the *Roman* arms, by land and ſea, had reached to their higheſt point, ſeveral iſlands lying near *Africa* were obſerved in the *weſtern* ocean, eſpecially thoſe that are called the *Fortunate*, or the *Canary* iſles, at the weſtern end of the old world, from which philoſophers began to reckon the degrees of longitude. This advantage excepted, it afforded little elſe than to amuſe idle fancies with poetical fables; and

the more ſo, as the real accounts of thoſe iſlands began to be more and more eclipſed. In the 13th century, the *Canary* iſlands were diſcovered once more, and the Republic of *Genoa*, through the medium of navigation and trade, having aroſe to the higheſt degree of proſperity, in conſequence of this ſecond diſcovery, formed a plan of trading there, and fitted out two gallies for that purpoſe, about the end of the preceding century. In the courſe of the following centuries, theſe iſlands were viſited by other nations; the ſlave-trade carried on there, and the adjoining coaſts of *Mauritannia*, defrayed the expences of the equipments. After frequent navigations had diſſipated the dread of the ſeas, the old idea of the fertility, rich and happy ſtate of theſe countries were in ſome meaſure found to be true, on the other hand, the ſimplicity, and the feeble reſiſtance of the barbarous inhabitants became conſpicuous, then the thirſt of gain, and the glory of conqueſts inflamed ſeveral to undertake the ſubjugation of theſe countries. The moſt enthuſiaſtic in this liſt, was *Don Luis de la Cerda*, great grand-

grand-ſon of King *Alonſo* the *wiſe*, from whom the dukes of the illuſtrious houſe of *de la Cerda*, now Dukes of *Medinaceli*, are deſcended. This Prince, excluded from the ſucceſſion to the *Caſtilian* throne, formed a plan to acquire another crown on the *Canary iſlands*; and for that purpoſe recommended himſelf to the pretended diſpenſer, and arbiter of kingdoms; and truly *Pope Clement* the Sixth appointed him King of thoſe iſlands, with the title of "Prince of Fortune;" but the whole was a mere matter of pomp and inanity.

IV. Inflamed with ſimilar ambition, the renounced *John of Bethencourt*, a French nobleman of *Normandy*, took it into his head to ſeize on thoſe iſlands, and even to ſell part of his eſtates to furniſh out an equipment for that purpoſe. The adventurous ſpirit of his countrymen, long renowned for the roving exploits of their anceſtors on the ocean, was not yet extinguiſhed; and there is ſufficient reaſon to believe that their navigation on the *Atlantic* ſeas, outſtripped that of all others, for

which reaſon it was not difficult to find out in the harbour of *Rochelle* ſome individual, who would aid this nobleman with his fortune, to fit out a veſſel with a ſufficient crew for ſuch an expedition. With this ſupport, and the conſent of the King of *Caſtile*, *Bethencourt* ſettled the firſt *European* colony in the iſle of *Lanzarote*, in the ſecond year of the fifteenth century. He ſoon ſaw the inſufficiency of his powers for ſuch an undertaking; in conſequence of which, he implored the protection of our King *Henry*, and ſubmitted to him as a vaſſal. After having received the requiſite ſupport, and inveſted with proper privileges, he gained the iſle of *Lanzarote*, and three other ſmall iſlands, for the *Caſtilian* crown. Under the protection of theſe new eſtabliſhments, theſe ſeas were more frequented than before; the landings on the iſles and continent increaſed, the inhuman ſlave-trade was augmented; and the traffic in goat ſkins, dragon's blood, orſeille, and other fruits of the new colony, began to excite the public attention. The town of *Seville* was the chief mart for theſe articles.

Almoſt

Almoſt all the mariners ſailed out of its harbour; and after they had conſiderably leſſened the population of the iſlands from the frequency of their attacks and hoſtilities, and terrified their petty Princes into ſubmiſſion, the entire conqueſt of them was at laſt completed, by the rapid and ſucceſſive aid of every kind, eſpecially land and naval forces. By this means, the *Canary* iſlands were united to the kingdom of *Seville*, and contributed very much to the extenſion of the commerce and navigation of that city and its diſtricts. In addition to this opulence, the ſeamen acquired a perfect knowledge of the ſea, and coaſts of *Africa*, to the *Cape of Bojador*; and from the narratives of the ſlaves that had been there, ſeveral acounts of other coaſts and countries, ſituated more to the South.

V. This extenſion of the nautical ſcience and geography, communicated from the harbours of *Andaluſia*, to their frontier neighbours, the *Algarvs* in Portugal, elicited in the heroic mind of the wiſe Don *Henry*, ideas and plans, far above the intellectual light of his day. It was generally believed,

lieved, that the *Cape of Bojador*, was the extreme boundary of the navigable ocean, and that innumerable dangers awaited thoſe that dare to venture beyond that limit, drawn by the hand of the Creator. The ſhoals, raging billows and tides, which had been ſeen near the *Cape*, were ſuppoſed to extend from thence over the remainder of the ocean. The countries, if any, exiſted in thoſe regions, were ſuppoſed to be like the *Lybian* deſarts, barren, ſandy waſtes; where the wretched inhabitants, if any, were of the loweſt claſs, and on a level with the beaſts, ſcorched by the ſun, which it was thought rendered the torrid zone uninhabitable. It was aſtoniſhing to ſee a young and inexperienced Prince deſpiſe the terrific tales of artful mariners, and the political obſervations of deſigning courtiers, and that he ſhould form and execute a plan for ſuch important diſcoveries, and that he ſhould burſt thoſe bounds, which credulity had placed to navigation. For the ſpace of twenty-three years, he perſevered with unabating firmneſs in his undertaking; and was always ſending out ſhips without obtaining his aim, or gratifying his

his wish; for as to the islands of *Porto Santa* and *Madeira*, which were accidentally discovered in that period by some of his captains, they did not in the least fall in with his new plan, and it is probable they were not unknown to the *Castilian* navigators.

VI. Nevertheless, this unfortunate event, far from relaxing, redoubled his exertions; and at last the *Cape*, that might be called the marine *bugbear*, was overcome in the year 1433. A glorious enterprize, which at that time was considered as an occurrence not less glorious than the labours of *Hercules*, and which undoubtedly was of the highest importance. Many prejudices vanished at the appearance of this new light, and now the seamen collected courage to steer their course at a greater distance from the shore, by which they avoided the interruptions and dangers of the old mode of sailing within view of land. The *Infant*, without delay, immediately fitted out two vessels more; one of which was larger than all those which were sent before. Probably, his penetrating and observant genius, saw the necessity of larger

larger and ſtronger ſhips, in order to combat this bold navigation, and ſail through deep and turbulent ſeas, in ſpite of contrary winds. His whole life was ſpent in the ſteady and zealous proſecution of his original plan, which was crowned with the ſucceſs of having diſcovered the coaſt of *Africa* to *Sierra Leona*, *Madeira*, the *Azore* iſlands, and thoſe of *Cape Verde*; of having eſtabliſhed the *Portugueſe* in thoſe places; and of having ſeen the hopes of a direct trade with the *Eaſt Indies* perhaps fulfilled. This Prince died in 1460, at the age of ſixty-ſeven, and left the world a glorious example of diligence, perſeverance, and charity. Having withdrawn himſelf from the buſtle of a court in his tender years, he lived moſtly in the harbour of *Sagreſs*, in *Algarvia*; and reſigned himſelf entirely to the ſtudies of coſmagraphy and navigation; full of the warmeſt zeal in the aggrandizement of his country, and the promulgation of the goſpel in diſtant and unknown regions, he invited well-informed men of every nation to aſſiſt him in theſe exalted views; together with the moſt experienced and dauntleſs pilots; in ſhort, all ſuch

perſons

perſons as ſeemed able to contribute, through ability or knowledge, to the advancement of his views. The *Andaluſians*, in the beginning, had the preference, as they were in the higheſt repute for navigable knowledge. In order to get his countrymen inſtructed in this art, he invited, at a great expence, maſter *Jacob* of *Majorca*, who was very celebrated and experienced in this ſcience, and alſo in delineating maps, and making mathematical inſtruments. It would be of great uſe, if a cotemporary writer had marked the progreſs of which the nautical ſcience made through the diligence, conſtancy, and exertions of the *Infant*. The extenſive voyages which he planned himſelf, with ſo much caution and prudence, and the ſafety with which they were performed, is a proof that this art, at that day, began to caſt off its coarſeneſs, and to aſſume that poliſh and refinement with which it ſhone a ſhort time after in *Portugal*.

VII. King John the Second, warmed by the example of his uncle, fanned the ſpirit of diſcovery, and encouraged the ſciences on which

which the continuance and extenſion of it depended. He found the coaſt of *Guinea* examined beyond the equator; alſo the gold trade at the fort of *de las Minas*, then carrying on, and the probability of ſailing round the continent, and the diſcovery of its eaſtern coaſts brought to a high degree. At the ſame time, however, he found the mariners timorous, and rather unwilling to truſt themſelves beneath an unknown ſky, without a leader, or to venture into the ocean of the ſouthern hemiſphere. In this ſituation, he aſſembled the ableſt coſmographers of his kingdom, *Joſeph*, a *Jew*; and *Rodrigo*, two eminent phyſicians; and *Martin Behaim*, a *German*, a native of *Nuremberg*, a diſciple of the celebrated aſtronomer, *John Muller*, of *Konigsberg*. His Majeſty recommended to their attention the diſcovery of ſome new invention, by which the ſeamen might be encouraged. This generous Prince was the liberal patron of ſcience and merit, and ſoon reaped the honour of it. After many trials and conſultations, the applicability of the aſtrolobe was diſcovered; this inſtrument enabled them to take on board the meridinal

ridinal altitude of the ſun above the horizon. The variations of this luminary on each day of the year, were calculated, and laid down in tables, which exceedingly facilitated the knowledge of the latitude. By this happy invention, the mariner was no longer under the neceſſity of frequently looking out for the continent, from the ſituation of which, they had previouſly calculated the place of the ſhip. As this was merely conjectural, it was ſubject to a thouſand miſtakes and errors; thus guided by the aſtrolobe, they ſailed with confidence and intrepidity to the ſouthern hemiſphere, in purſuance of the wiſhes of Government.

VIII. The courage diſplayed by the ſeamen, in conſequence of this imperfect beginning of aſtronomic navigation, is beyond all deſcription. The point of *Africa* was immediately diſcovered; and in conſequence of that, ſtill greater plans were formed, to the univerſal admiration of the reſt of the *European* power, who, aſtoniſhed at the view of ſo many different countries, of ſtrange and ſingular nations, and things from the

the extended coaſts of the *Cape* of *Boſador* to the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, immediately perceived the palpable ignorance and idle preſumption in which they had hitherto lived, and on which they had founded their opinions and perſuaſions. They now began to incline to give credit to many narrations of very old date, which they till then had been conſidered as mere fables.

The annals of the *Egyptians*, cotemporary with the world, the marvellous narratives of *Plato*, concerning the *Atlantic* iſland, and its mighty monarchs and nations in the *weſtern ocean*, regained their loſt credit; and the evidence which *Alexander* the Great gave to the ſentence of *Anaxarchus*, reſpecting the exiſtence of a new world, was likewiſe judged to be well-founded.

IX. Theſe notions ſpread themſelves over Europe, from the period of the poſſeſſion of the *Canary iſlands*, as literature and nautical ſcience ſhed mutual light on each other. A number of ancient MSS. were brought into day, in which ſeveral ſayings were found, relative

relative to ſeveral countries formerly ſeen, or conjectured to exiſt in the Atlantic ocean. What turned the heads of the people moſt of all, was that large iſland, abounding with ſeveral navigable rivers, which the *Carthaginians* diſcovered at a great diſtance from the continent, the extraordinary fertility and amenity of which invited them to inhabit it; but the Government, afraid that this happy colony in time might [illegible] the mother country, ordered them to evacuate it, and never to return to it, under pain of death. The book in which this account was found, bore the name of *Ariſtotle*, the authenticity of which no perſon dared to doubt. To the narration of this philoſopher, ſeveral embelliſhments were added. For inſtance, that ſeven *Spaniſh* biſhops, with a number of chriſtians, had fled thither, and had found an aſylum in it, from the perſecution of the *Moors*, (the conquerors of *Spain* in the 8th century,) and the fables of many *Portugueſe* voyagers, who had ſailed to that iſland which was repreſente din books, maps, and worked up into tales, under the name of the *Seven Towns*. At laſt it was fabled, that out of a quantity of earth, brought

from one of theſe weſtern harbours, the third part was pure gold. This idle tale ſtimulated ſeveral mariners to ſet out in purſuit of this ore; and though they perſiſted in vain, yet this diſappointment was not ſufficient to overturn the ſtory; on the contrary, it ſpread ſtill wider, and the very iſland was repreſented under the name of *Antilla** on moſt of the maps of the fifteenth century.

The

* It is not known who gave this name firſt to this iſland, or placed it in the *weſtern* ocean. The ſituation and ſize of it is not equal on all the old maps, becauſe it was only known by hearſay. *Bianco* places it parallel with *Spain* and North *Africa*, in the utmoſt *Weſt*, as a large oblong ſquare, with many bays, under the name of the iſle of *Antilla*. *Peter de Roſſelle*, who drew a large map of the world (at *Majorca*, in 1464) as it was known or ſuppoſed in his day, has placed a conſiderable country towards the Weſt, with a large bay, but without any name. *Paul Toſcannelli*, a phyſician at *Florence*, in 1474, ſent a map of the weſtern countries to *Liſbon*, and afterwards to *Chriſtopher Columbus*. The iſland of *Antilla* was found on this map, and *Paul* was ſo ſure of its ſituation, that he calculates its diſtance from *Cipango* to be 225 leagues. (See *Barica Hiſtor.* T. I. p. 5.) *Martin Behaim*, in his map of 1492, places

The isle of *Brandon* * was not less renowned, and stood still richer in fable. This name is given to a meteoric appearance, which had been observed several times westward of the *Canary* islands; such, and similar exhalations induced the inhabitants of the *Azores*,

places in the 23d degree of northern latitude, between the *Azores* and *Cape de Verde* islands, a little isle in the midst of known regions, which he calls the *Antilla*, or the isle of the *Seven Towns*. He is the first who considers those two names as synonymous. *Columbus* gave the names of this fictitious country to those islands of the *New World*, which he had discovered in the first voyage; and confounded with those many islands which *Marco* pretended to have found beyond *Cathay* and *Cipango*.

T. N.

* Saint *Brandam* was a *Benedictine* monk of the sixth century. He was, as the legend tells, with his companions, seven years in pursuit of a western *Paradise* isle, called *Ima*. His critical biographic, *Papebrach*, did not think it worth while to examine this navigation, on account of the number of marvellous tales with which it abounds. Nevertheless, it is marked in all the ancient maps. *Behaim* places it near the equator, southwest of the *Azores*, and gives it the same figure that *Antilla* used to bear in the maps of earlier geographers; it seems, however, as if he had confounded *Antilla* and *Brandon*.

T. N.

and *Madeira*, as well as the mariners who ſailed to the iſlands and coaſts of *Africa*, to fancy that they ſaw a country, which only exiſted in their own imagination; whence a number of voyages of diſcoveries in the weſtern *ocean*, and not a few by the orders of the Court of *Portugal*.

X. Theſe pretended diſcoveries and cheats, were ſoon repreſented on maps as realities. General maps of this unknown ocean were drawn, and filled with painted iſlands and continents, which no perſon had really ever ſeen. Such, it ſeems, was that map of the world, which the *Infant Don Pedro* is ſaid to have brought from *Italy* to *Portugal*, for the uſe of his brother *Don Henry*; and on which the *Cape of Good Hope*, and the ſtreights of *Magellan* were drawn, long before their diſcovery under the name of the bounds of *Africa*, and of the *Dragons Tail* *.

This

* This is the map already mentioned of *Beinecaſa*. *Biornſtabl*, who ſaw it in his travels, ſays that it was drawn in 1455, by the order of the *Infant Alphonſo*, and a copy

This was the caſe alſo with the map which *Paul* the naturaliſt ſent to *Liſbon* *, and with the globe, made by *Martin Beheim*. The archives of *Nuremberg* preſerve no great treaſures in this once ſo celebrated terreſtrial globe; nor is it to be much lamented, that the map of the *Infant Don Pedro*, or a ſimilar one, is no longer to be found in the archives of *Alcobaza*. Independent of theſe documents, modern times furniſh ſufficient proofs of the viſions of the geographers of that age; who were preſumptuous enough to erect ar-

a copy of it exiſted in the monaſtery of *Alcabaza*. We do not know what account our author had of it; but after what he mentions of it, the ſouthern part of *Africa* was delineated in it juſt as it appeared in *Bianco*'s map, where in that point, two dragons were painted, with the words, *Nidus Abimalion*. T. N.

* *Paul* of *Florence*, called by ſome, *Toſcanella*, ſent deſcriptions of the weſtern countries, with maps, as well to *Chriſtopher Columbus*, as to his friend, *Ferdinand Martinez*, a canon at *Liſbon*. *Ferdinand Columbus*, has inſerted his letters on this ſubject, in the life of the Admiral, his father. The maps are loſt, but it is to be ſeen by his letters, that he determines the ſituation of the weſtern countries after the authority of *Polo* only. T. N.

bitrary ſyſtems in the infancy of knowledge, for ignorance is generally accompanied with vanity and temerity.

XI. Some credible accounts have been acquired of the eaſtern limits of the ancient world, from the peninſula of *Malacca*, to *Cathay* and *Japan*; from the narrations of *Marco Polo*, the firſt and laſt European known to have ſeen ſuch remote countries. It was alſo he that communicated ſome undetermined ideas of the numerous iſlands ſcattered in the Aſiatic *Archipelago*, which he had learned from ſome *Chineſe* mariners. The large ſpace between theſe iſlands and thoſe of *Africa*, of which the Spaniards and Portugueſe had taken poſſeſſion a ſhort time before, were to our traveller, as well as to the *Arabs*, an ocean of darkneſs; from the immenſity of its extent, it had been the received opinion at all times, that ſeveral countries of enormous ſize were concealed in it. Notwithſtanding this, after the mature weight and conſideration of all authorities, maps and traditions, ſuch little certainty was found, nay, even ſo little probability, that no perſon would venture to

ſeek

ſeek adventures in ſuch a boundleſs ſea, unleſs he had yielded himſelf up to all the influence of fool-hardineſs. The ancient *Carthaginians*, the *Arabs* of the middle age *, and the later diſcoverers of *Portugal* and *Spain*, had ſet out in vain for that purpoſe. The unſucceſsful perſeverance of the latter ſeemed to be an evident proof, that if thoſe pretended weſtern countries were really in exiſtence, they were not, however, ſituated at a convenient diſtance from thoſe ſhores, to which the ſeamen, in order to ſave their

* We learn from *Arabian* geographers, that at leaſt in the 12th century, when *Liſbon* was ſtill under the dominion of the *Arabs*, ſeveral inhabitants of that city undertook a voyage of diſcovery in purſuit of the weſtern countries. At the end of thirty days ſail, they found ſeveral iſlands, one of which was ſtored with abundance of ſheep, but the fleſh of which they could not taſte, it was ſo bitter; and another inhabited by men; here they were told that the ocean was only navigable for thirty days farther to the weſt, as continued darkneſs ſtopt the courſe there. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, one ſtreet in Liſbon preſerved the remembrance of this weſtern voyage, and was called *Almagrurim*, which ſignifies in *Engliſh*, thoſe that go aſtray. *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliotheque du Roi*, Vol. II. p. 25.

lives, were under the neceſſity of returning to. As long as this neceſſity exiſted, adventurers dared not riſk a diſtant voyage on the *Atlantic* wave; nor could they be expected to perſevere long enough in fruitleſs, hazardous, and expenſive eſſays. But at the time which eternal providence had pre-determined as the period for opening a communication with both worlds, a man, more than common, appeared, who was born to diſcover, and lead to new ways.

XII. This was *Chriſtopher Columbo*, or *Colon*, as he called himſelf, after he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Spain*, immortalized his name in that country, and raiſed himſelf as the head of a very illuſtrious family. He was born in the city of *Genoa*, in 1446; his father, *Domingo*, a citizen of that republic, manufactured and dealt in woollen ſtuffs, becauſe his paternal eſtate in the dutchy of *Piacenza*, was too ſmall for the decent maintenance of his family. *Chriſtopher* cultivated the ſciences at a tender age, and made ſuch a rapid progreſs in the *Latin* language, and the rudiments of the mathematics, as enabled him to underſtand the coſmographic writers, of the reading of

of which he was peculiarly fond. At the age of fourteen, he returned from the univerſity of *Pavia* to his native country. He learned navigation, and purſued it three and twenty years ſucceſſively, with ſuch zeal and perſeverance, that he remained at ſea for a long time, in order to gratify his unbounded and praiſe-worthy curioſity. He made voyages on the ſeas frequented by Europeans, full of deſire to ſail farther than other navigators had ventured; he ſailed through the northern ocean, a hundred leagues beyond *Iceland*, the *Ultima Thule*, or the boundary of what had been thought navigable to that day. Every place he landed at, he endeavoured to open a trade with the natives, in order to obtain information of the countries. He compared what knowledge he had acquired in this way, with the accounts then in exiſtence, relative to thoſe countries, and enriched them with his own obſervations. To this judicious practice he united the knowledge of the auxiliary ſciences of navigation, viz. the uſe of ſound aſtronomy, extenſive geographic learning, and an able hand in delineating maps, making ſpheres and other inſtruments.

In

XIII. In order to finiſh this career, and to aſcend to that ſublime point to which his towering mind prompted him, he ſettled himſelf at *Liſbon*, about the end of the reign of *Alphonſo* the Fifth. The *Portugueſe*, even at that day, were celebrated as the firſt navigators in the world; and the miniſtry, led on by the *Infant Henry*, and taught by experience, opened their arms to every foreigner poſſeſſed of diſtinguiſhed knowledge in coſmography and nautical ſcience; *Columbus*, of courſe, was received with the utmoſt cordiality. He made ſeveral voyages to their new diſcoveries, and by that means, as well as by making ſome maps, he was enabled in a ſhort time to live genteelly, to ſupport his indigent parents, and to afford his younger brothers an education. Such was the eſteem that his wiſdom, conduct, and merit raiſed him to, that he got in marriage *Donna Felipa Muniz Pereſtrelo*, daughter of the founder of the colony of *Porto Santo*, a knight of the royal houſe; and on whoſe family the lieutenancy of that iſle had been conferred as a right of heritage. From an alliance ſo advantageous, he availed himſelf of freſh

opportunities

opportunities of augmenting his fame, and to raiſe his mind to objects ſtill higher. Inter-married into a houſe, indebted for its name and proſperity to nautical atchievments, voyages and diſcoveries, were the favourite topics of converſation. The writings of the deceaſed *Bartholomew Pereſtrelo*, excited the attention of his ſon-in-law to examine the origin and progreſs, the cauſes and deſigns of the *Portugueſe* voyages. Noting the doubts and tardineſs with which the chief object was treated, namely, the acquiſition of the rich trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, he gave himſelf up to unremitting conſiderations and cloſe reflections, with an intention of finding out a mode of facilitating an undertaking which was conceived to be a matter of as much difficulty as it was of importance.

XIV. As he was ruminating and arranging his ideas on this ſubject, his brother-in-law, who had been for ſome time Lieutenant of *Porto Santo*, informed him, that the weſtern winds had driven ſome wood on that iſland, which appeared to be worked without the help of iron; and that cane of uncommon ſize, like

like that deſcribed by *Ptolemy* in the remoteſt *Indies*. This circumſtance was confirmed by ſome other perſons, and alſo by the King, to whom ſome of theſe pieces had been ſent. Such marks of land were perceived upon the iſland of *Madeira* and the *Azores*, and farther to the weſt on the ocean; and theſe obſervations and incidents were farther confirmed by two dead bodies thrown on theſe ſhores, which differed in lineament and feature from thoſe already known. Though *Columbus* was not ſubject to the *Mania* of credulity, and the raſhneſs of the mariners and geographers of theſe times, yet theſe remarks, and the weſterly winds, obſerved from time to time, which only continued for ſome days, inclined him to believe that there muſt be countries towards the weſt, and at an acceſſible diſtance; and it did not ſurprize him, that they had not yet been diſcovered, as no one had hitherto ventured into theſe parts of the ocean beyond a hundred leagues.

XV. He conjectured, beſides, on reaſonable grounds, that thoſe countries might form the utmoſt bounds of the Indies. The ancients

extended

extended *Aſia* to an enormous length. The country of the *Seres* joined to the weſtern limits of the preſent empire of *China*, and lay, as *Ptolemy* ſtates, twelve hours from the meridian of the *Canaries*, that is, 180 degrees weſtward from thoſe iſlands; but *Marino* from *Tyrus*, placed it about 15 hours, or 225 degrees. *Columbus* adopted this calculation, which came very near his own ideas, and ſeemed the moſt conformable to the aſſumed ſuppoſition. He followed the ſituation of the unknown eaſtern country, which was thought to be extended far to the weſtward; this conjecture was confirmed by the narration of *Marco Polo*, who placed theſe countries, or *Cathai*, ſo far towards the eaſt, that they might lie two hours eaſtward behind the *Seres*. Seven hours ſtill remain to compleat the twenty-four, into which the compaſs of the globe is divided; and from theſe ſeven, about one hour is to be ſubtracted, on account of the ſpace newly diſcovered by the *Portugueſe*, towards the weſt, beyond the meridian of the *Canary* iſlands, from which *Marino* and *Ptolemy* began to calculate. Beſides this, as the limits of the utmoſt Indies were unknown,

known, it was very poſſible that their coaſts, or the iſlands lying round them, extended ſo far that their remoteneſs from *Europe* might be much leſs than it was imagined.

Ariſtotle was of this opinion; and *Seneca* confidently pretended, that if the wind was favourable, it would require only a few days to ſail from the harbours of *Spain* to the *Indies*. At all events, the ſea betwixt the eaſtern countries and the *Azores*, and *Cape de Verde* iſlands could not be ſo great as to deter experienced and intrepid diſcoverers; particularly if *Alfragano* was right, who ſuppoſed the length or circuit of the globe to be much leſs than other geographers did, and who calculated every degree of equator, not at ſixty miles, but at fifty-ſix, one-third. This ſtatement, however erroneous, ſeemed to be confirmed at the time by repeated obſervations.

XVI. Thus *Columbus* judged; when the *Portugueſe* had even paſſed the line, and for all that had not reached the ſouthern limit of *Africa*, and were ſtill leſs confident of a diſcovery

covery on this road, than of the ſo much long wiſhed for paſſage to the *Indies*. But ſuppoſe that it ſhould be diſcovered at laſt, it would always be a tedious and troubleſome way, as it really has been found; conſequently, ſince *Columbus* took for certain, that the extenſion of *Aſia* was ſo large, which was the general ſuppoſition of all claſſical mathematicians and geographers of the fifteenth century, he concluded very juſtly, that the paſſage to the eaſtern ocean, would be much more ſhort, and more convenient, on the weſtern road, than that which the *Portugueſe* endeavoured to find ſouthward, by ſailing round *Africa*.

XVII. *Columbus* kept this plan for ſome time ſecret, and read and reflected on it without intermiſſion, in order to mature and bring it to perfection. Every day encreaſed his affection for it, and he was inflamed in the ſame degree with a deſire of putting it into execution. This flame, however, was regulated by prudent caution, till he had tried every means that wiſdom and ſober premeditation could ſuggeſt. He was informed

formed that *Paul Toſcanelli*, a *Florentine* phyſician, had written a letter to *Fernando Martinez*, a Canon at *Liſbon*, concerning the navigation, which he conceived the *Portugueſe* ought to purſue towards the weſt. Very glad that his ideas and opinions ran in uniſon with ſo great an aſtronomer, and deſirous of receiving additional information, he wrote to him, and communicated his opinion on the ſubject. *Toſcanelli* was delighted with the correſpondence of ſo generous and learned a mariner, and he loſt no time in returning an anſwer, in which, if he was not ſucceſsful enough in elucidating the theory of *Columbus*, he at leaſt confirmed it by his approbation, and incited him to the execution of his plan. He extolled, in a high degree, the magnitude, fertility, and abundance of thoſe countries, which he thought might be eaſily found. He repreſented the *Aſiatic* iſlands, of which *Marco Polo* gave but a ſlight deſcription, as very rich and full of traders. *Cipango*, the queen of theſe iſlands, according to his deſcription, abounded in gold, pearls, and diamonds; the temples

and

and palaces were covered with plates of fine gold. The moſt diſtant quarters of the continent are drawn by his pencil in a ſtile ſtill more magnificent, particularly the province of *Catag* and *Mango*, in the metropolis of which, called *Quenſay*, or the city of Heaven, the *Kan*, or King of Kings holds his court, where the arts flouriſh under the eye of a wiſe government, where abundance reigns, eſpecially in gold, ſilver, gems, and all kinds of ſpice. The population of the country is immenſe, and the towns ſo numerous, that two hundred of them lie on the banks of a ſingle river, ornamented with magnificent marble bridges, ſtately columns, royal palaces, lofty buildings, extenſive gardens, and every thing worthy of admiration. To this he adds the urbanity and humanity of the inhabitants, their deſire of trading with the chriſtians, the facility of drawing riches from their commerce, and what a pity it would be to forfeit all theſe promiſing advantages through fear of the ſhort way that was to be diſcovered. He founded his brilliant deſcriptions not only on the narratives of *Polo*, *Mandeville*,

ville, and *Nicholas de Conti* *, as witneſſes that agreed in the extraordinary riches of the third *Indies*, as the eaſtern part of *Aſia* was called, but alſo of other famous and learned travellers, with whom he had converſed. Such remonſtrances animated the ſpirits of *Columbus* exceedingly, fanned the ſparks of his laudable ambition, exalted the idea of

* *Nicolas de Conti* was the laſt known *European*, who after *Marco Polo*, and before the navigations of the *Portugueſe*, had travelled to the *Indies*, and given an account of them. He was a *Venetian*; he viſited the *Indies*, ſeveral countries on the other ſide of the *Ganges*, *China*, and part of *Polyneſy*, previous to the year 1420; the date cannot be determined more accurately. He has not written the account of his travels himſelf, but he was obliged by the command of Pope *Eugene* IV. to relate them in 1444, to the celebrated *Poggius* of *Florence*, who ſelected the marrow of them, and tranſlated it into *Latin*. His narratives, leſs copious than thoſe of *Marco Polo*, are ſtuffed with monſtrous tales, but with reſpect to ſingle countries, occaſionally inſtructive. King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, in 1500, cauſed them to be tranſlated into *Portugueſe*; this taſk was undertaken by *Valentine Fernandez*. *Ramuſio* has publiſhed theſe travels in the firſt volume of his collections from this tranſlation, but on account of the want of the original, he was not able to fill up the chaſms which is ſuppoſed to contain ſome intereſting accounts of *China* and other countries.

of

the merit of the undertaking, and ſtimulated his wiſh to put it into execution. To diminiſh the dangers in ſo bold an enterprize, *Toſcanelli* drew on a map of the weſtern ocean, the ſeveral iſles, which might be reſorted to in caſe of neceſſity. He reckoned with great certainty on the viſionary iſle of *Antilla*. It is likely that *Columbus* omitted theſe delineations on that map of the globe which he had ſent to him, to mark out the courſe of his intended voyage; it is true he was leſs credulous, but firmly convinced that he would diſcover ſome country in this way. He followed the opinion of his age, that the ocean covered the ſmalleſt part of the ſurface of the earth, and as he knew from evident coſmographic proofs, how ſmall the compaſs of the known world was, he could not help ſuppoſing that the deficiency muſt be ſupplied by ſome continent or iſlands, ſomewhere in the oceans, which according to *Ariſtotle*'s opinion, would be found oppoſite to the old world.

XVIII. He was ſtrengthened in this idea by ſome claſſical writers, philoſophers, as well as geographers and hiſtorians. He

examined and weighed their obſervations and teſtimonies with particular caution and attention; he found them all united in one opinion with reſpect to the main point of the matter, however they might differ in circumſtances, from which he rightly concluded that theſe accounts were founded on ancient narratives, which time had obliterated and altered. Theſe narratives might have poſſibly ariſen from mariners that had ſuffered ſhipwreck formerly, or had been caſt away, either natives of theſe *Atlantic* countries, who had ſought ſhelter in our hemiſphere, or *Europeans*, who, after having informed themſelves of theſe weſtern countries, and having overcome innumerable hardſhips and dangers, of a nature not to be attempted a ſecond time, had returned home again. The teſtimonies of ſeveral writers render both of theſe conjectures probable, and as to the tradition of the exiſtence of countries in the *Atlantic main*, they do not admit of the leaſt doubt of it. *Plato*, a philoſopher of the greateſt weight, quotes ſeveral ancient ſayings, which had been communicated to the wiſe *Solon*, by the

Egyptian

Egyptian prieſts; and amongſt others, he maintains that the ſunk *Atlantis* had held the latitude of the ocean from the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*, that ſeveral iſlands were on the other ſide, and behind them a continent. *Elian* alſo repeats an old tranſlation, which ſays that *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, were iſlands every where encompaſſed with water, but that the true continent was in the ocean, abounding in gold and ſilver. In conſequence of other traditions, *Virgil* and *Pliny* mention the iſles of the *Heſperides*, that they were ſituated to the weſt, forty days from the *Gergades*, or as *Columbus* interpreted it, *Cape de Verde*. It ſeems, in fact, that *Columbus* directed his courſe by that ſtatement. Probably he believed, that in ſailing through the ocean for the diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies*, he might alſo diſcover by the way ſome happy countries. The glory of ſuch diſcoveries, inflamed him ſtill more perhaps than his chief deſign; and as a warm reſolute ſpirit is eaſily led to believe what it ſo ardently wiſhes, ſo it happened to him in this undertaking, that he at firſt thought it only poſſible, and at laſt certain, and void of doubt; and that from

the ſucceſs of it, he promiſed himſelf a high degree of happineſs and immortal glory to the lateſt poſterity: for as he ſaw ſeveral foreign navigators in *Portugal*, who had merely diſcovered little iſlands, honoured, careſſed, and rewarded with the government of them, what might not the author of the greateſt undertaking in the world expect?

XIX. Warmed with this enthuſiaſm, and inſpired with confidence, he diſcloſed his plan to the generous *John* II. in whoſe kingdom he had been naturalized, and where he might naturally expect to meet with a ready diſpoſition to accept of his propoſal, and to judge of the capability of it; but it was tendered at an unſeaſonable time. The King, at the beginning of his reign, burned with a wiſh to extend his commerce of *Africa*, and to accompliſh the diſcovery of its coaſts. The ſlave-trade, traffic in gold, ivory, and other precious wares encreaſed very much, and for the maintenance of it, a colony, and the fort of *de la Minas* was eſtabliſhed, in order to protect the *Portugueſe* conqueſts, and to extend the propagation of the chriſtian religion

ligion in thoſe infidel countries *. The moſt eminent coſmographers were aſſembled at the command of the King, and laboured with the utmoſt zeal in promoting the navigation and diſcoveries beyond the line to the *Indian* ſeas, to which they imagined themſelves to be very near, in conſequence of the tendency of the coaſts towards the eaſt. Theſe hopes and proſpects ſeemed to be as well founded and as ſplendid, as the profits of the future trade would be certain and conſiderable; in ſhort, the whole ſyſtem was calculated to inſure fruitful poſſeſſions, and to convert the product of them into the means of acquiring other neighbouring dominions of ineſtimable value. Notwithſtanding the wiſdom of the plan, his Majeſty received the propoſal of *Columbus* with coolneſs; on repeated requeſts, however, he ordered it to be more particularly ex-

* This fortreſs on the gold coaſt, or the fort of *Delmina*, as it was called, was built in 1481; it belongs to the *Dutch* at preſent. All the materials employed in the erection of it were carried from *Portugal*. The firſt eſtabliſhment of it is more particularly deſcribed by *Ruy de Pina, Chron. del Rey Joâ* II. *in collecçaõ de libros ineditos de Hiſtoria Portugueſa*. T. N.

amined by *D. Diego Ortiz*, biſhop of *Ceuta*, and the phyſicians, *Rodrigo* and *Joſeph*, who were charged with the care of every thing belonging to coſmography and diſcoveries. They all exhibited diſapprobation and diſlike. The prudent monarch did not behave in ſuch a manner, free from prejudice and paſſion, and animated by a more glorious ſpirit, he gave audience to *Columbus* himſelf, liſtened to his arguments, and found the ſcheme plauſible. It was carried indeed to a negociation, which would have been followed by an agreement, if *Columbus* had contented himſelf with a title of honour, and the perpetual government of the countries which he might diſcover, as was cuſtomary in ſuch caſes; but *Columbus* entertained ſuch high ideas of the merit and the magnitude of the undertaking, that he would not tender his ſervices for leſs than the promiſe of extraordinary honours and prerogatives.

XX. During theſe negociations, a veſſel was fitted out by the advice of the biſhop of *Ceuta*, and ſent out in the ſeas mentioned by *Columbus*, under the pretext of furniſhing the

the *Cape de Verde* iſlands with proviſions. As the perſons entruſted with this expedition neither poſſeſſed ſufficient knowledge or intrepidity, they landed after a fruitleſs voyage of a few days on thoſe iſlands, and blamed and ridiculed the undertaking. *Columbus*, fired with indignation at ſuch underhand proceedings, abandoned every idea of negociation with ſuch a crafty deceitful court, however anxiouſly the king might wiſh for it as *Columbus* well knew. Tired of *Portugal*, and his domeſtic cares leſſened in conſequence of the death of his beloved wife, he prepared to leave the kingdom, and leſt he ſhould be detained by force, if his deſigns were known; he ſet out nearly about the end of the year 1484.

XXI. Writers of authority mention that he had taken ſhipping from the harbour of Liſbon; moſt of them agree that he went directly for *Spain*; for my part, I think it more likely that he touched firſt at *Genoa*, where we find him in 1485. Here he offered his perſonal ſervices and rich diſcoveries to the Senate, and perhaps he might have done ſo by letter before he applied

to

to the king of *Portugal*, as is generally ſuppoſed from his exalted love of country, which ſtill glowed in his breaſt, notwithſtanding his long abſence. The Senate did not appreciate his merits, and rejected his offers, as the dreams of a ſickly and heated imagination. In fact, if we conſider the low ſtate of the Republic, and her ſenſible decay, a better reception and anſwer could not be expected, eſpecially as her ſeamen, as mere practitioners, were unable to judge and eſtimate with propriety ſuch a bold and novel enterprize.

XXII. Diſcontented with his native country, and having diſcharged the duties of a tender ſon towards his old and affectionate father, *Columbus* was determined to try his fortune once more in foreign ſtates. He placed much reliance on Henry the Seventh, King of England, a young and aſpiring prince, who had juſt deprived Richard the Third of his crown and life, in a victorious battle. He appointed his brother *Bartholomew* to conduct this negociation at *London*, a very judicious

judicious man, and well ſkilled in navigation, and making charts and nautical inſtruments. He himſelf came to *Spain*, becauſe he repoſed great confidence in our catholic princes.

XXIII. In the town of *Palos*, now an inſignificant place, but at that time flouriſhing, and conſiderable for its commerce and navigation, he received a kind reception, as well as in the neighbourhood. Here *Columbus* found friends and defenders, who contributed very much to the happy lot deſtined to him. *Fray Juan Perez de Marchena*, a *Franciſcan*, guardian of the ancient monaſtery of *Rabida*, appeared at the head of this liſt, a virtuous and well-informed divine, well verſed in coſmography and naval ſcience. He eſteemed *Columbus* very much, and became his intimate friend, treated him in his monaſtery, and alleviated his cares very much, by taking on himſelf the maintenance and education of his young ſon *Diego*. He examined *Columbus*'s plans with care, ſeveral times with the author alone, and at others in union with *Garcia Fernandez*, an able phyſician, who was at the ſame time a

good

good mathematician. The celebrated navigator, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, warmly joined in the approbation; it is known that he not only confirmed *Columbus*'s ideas of the ſhortneſs of the way to the third *Indies*, the magnificence of *Cipan*, and the certainty of the ſucceſs, but alſo aſſiſted him with money to enable him to open a negociation with the court, to which he was ſtill more encouraged by the Guardian who recommended him to the worthy prelate *Fray Hernando de Talavera*, at that time prior of the monaſtery of *Prado*, and confeſſor to the queen, who had no ſmall ſhare of influence in the moſt important affairs.

XXIV. In the ſpring of the year 1486, the king and queen, *Fernando* and *Iſabella*, came to *Andaluſia*, as they had done the four preceding years, to accelerate by their preſence the conqueſt of the kingdom of *Granada*. *Columbus* waited upon their Majeſties in the town of *Cordova*, and delivered his firſt propoſals. The cares attendant on wars, the general amelioration of the government, and other important concerns in ſeveral pro-

provinces, involved the court in perpetual inquietude and hurry. The king, the mainſpring of all ſtate tranſactions, never entered on any important buſineſs without mature deliberation. The propoſed plan, from its nature and quality, demanded a cloſe and cautious examination, the more ſo, as it required conſiderable expence, at a time of diſtreſs and ſcarcity of money. Under theſe circumſtances it is worthy of admiration that ſo much attention was paid, and hopes held out to an unknown adventurer. Doubtleſs the dignity and noble deportment of his perſon; the eaſy, learned, and confidential manner in which he unfolded his great plan, attracted the attention of the royal perſonages, as well as the patronage of ſeveral other eminent individuals.

XXV. I know not whether *Fray Hernando Talavera* may be numbered among theſe nations; the king and queen ordered him to aſſemble ſeveral learned coſmographers to examine the plan, and to report their opinion of it. The meeting was held at *Salamanca*, perhaps, becauſe the court reſided there for the enſuing winter. It is a pity

a pity that no documents of the learned debate which was held at the Dominican Monaſtery of *St. Stephen*, have been left, in order to form a judgment of the ſtate of mathematics and aſtronomy in that univerſity, ſo renowned at the day. It is known that *Columbus* wrote down his Theſes, exhibited his arguments, and anſwered all the objections ſtarted againſt his ſyſtem. Some ridiculous objections have eſcaped oblivion, worthy of the ideots who were ignorant of the firſt elements of geography. It was oppoſed to the ſhortneſs and facility of the navigation to the *Indies*, that the ſea might be found riſing, ſo that the ſhips muſt aſcend as it were up hill, that the ſize of the ocean was immenſe, and that three years would not be ſufficient to reach to the end of the eaſt. Objections of ſtill greater folly were raiſed againſt the diſcovery of the weſtern countries, ſuch as, that as they had remained unknown to the greateſt philoſophers which the world ever produced, of courſe it was very unlikely that a new mariner ſhould be better informed of the ſubject than they were; and ſtill further,

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe ſuch countries exiſted, they would be found uninhabited, and incapable of being inhabited, becauſe the human kind were confined to that part of the earth, which *Ptolemy* had deſcribed, and *Saint Auguſtin* had exploded the exiſtence of *Antipodes*.

XXVI. *Columbus* did not find it very difficult to diſſipate the prejudices of the ignorant, with arguments at one time, the teſtimonies of writers at another, and the experience of the voyages even of their own day, but he was not able to render himſelf intelligible to men devoid of knowledge and principles, nor of drawing out a ſincere confeſſion from men puffed up with ſophiſtry and conceit. He had the pleaſure of experiencing mere docility, candour and attention in thoſe, who poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of erudition, but who did not however preſume to be maſters of the ſubject in queſtion. The *Dominicans* are proud of having entertained the diſcoverer of the *Indies* in the monaſtery of *St. Stephen*, and of having enabled him, by ſome favours, to pur-

purſue his plan, and particularly of having adopted his opinion in theſe diſcuſſions, and of having gained over the firſt men of the univerſity to take his part. The favourable deciſion on the part of *Columbus* is chiefly aſcribed to *Fray Diego Deza*, the head profeſſor of divinity and preceptor to the prince *D. Juan*, whoſe aſcendency at court, in quality of confeſſor royal, daily encreaſed. After all, the chief point that was propoſed to be determined by that learned committee was very little advanced, and it was no wonder that theſe ſcioliſts perſiſted in their prepoſſeſſed opinions, and that the beſt informed either ſuſpended theirs or divided in them. But even the difference of opinion, and the warmth with which they were maintained, ſerved to augment the name and reputation of *Columbus*, and to encreaſe the number of his party. He was no longer looked upon as an idle projector, but as the inventor of a ſcheme calculated to promote the good of the ſtate; the conſequence of which was, that he was enrolled in her Majeſty's retinue, and enjoyed the ſame

liber-

liberties of entertainment and other prerogatives allowed to those who followed the court.

XXVII. The negotiations were continued at court with that tediousness, however, which arose from the pressure and embarrassment of public affairs. The mind of *Columbus* was absorbed entirely in his plan. Neither the distinguished honour which was shewn him by the first nobility, the liberality of the minister of finance, nor yet the pledge of wedded love in another son born at *Cordova*, could prevail on him to desist from his solicitations. Every moment of delay was intolerable to him. At last the king and queen tired, perhaps, by his importunities, and informed by *Talavera* of the difference of opinion on the projected plan, sent him word, that the cares and expences attendant on the conquest of *Granada*, would not permit them to embark in any thing new, and that a more seasonable opportunity might present itself at a future day, when his proposals would be duly attended to.

Columbus begged to be heard once more, and finding the royal pair fixed in their

reſolves, he imagined, that they were founded on the ſuggeſtions of the ignorant coſmographers, who deemed the propoſed diſcoveries chimerical viſionary, and repugnant to the royal dignity. In conſequence of this opinion he interpreted the anſwer into a compleat refuſal. And hopeleſs of ever coming to a determination with the court he propoſed his ſcheme to the duke of *Medinaſidonia*, and according to ſome, to the duke of *Medinaceli*, wealthy and opulent nobles, whoſe maritime dominions contained ſhips and ſeamen; the harbour of *Santfanejos*, or *St. Lucar* of *Barrameda*, belonged to the former, and that of *St. Mary* to the latter. Finding that his propoſal would not be liſtened to by either, he wrote to *Louis* XI. of *France*, with a view, to commence a negotiation at *Paris*, and in caſe he ſhould not ſucceed, to go to *London*, to ſecond his brother's petition, of whom he had not the leaſt account.

XXVIII. He departed from *Seville* to *Rabida* to ſee his eldeſt ſon, whom he intended to leave at *Cordova*, and bid adieu to his faithful friend, *Fray Juan Perez*. This

divine,

divine, who had taken up the matter from the very beginning with enthuſiaſm, prevailed on him to defer his departure, promiſing to win the mind of the queen, to whom he was confeſſor, and whoſe kindneſs and attachment to the clergy was remarkable. This eccleſiaſtic, ſet forward immediately to the camp at *Santa-fé*, where the court was held with the army to influence the ſurrender of *Granada*. He preſented the rational motives for adopting the plan, the weighty advantages of gain and glory, that would flow from it, and the irreparable loſs to the *Spaniſh Monarchy* if any other power ſhould ſeize on it. He repreſented *Columbus* as an able, well informed, and judicious man, ſufficiently qualified for the taſk, which he propoſed, and that it would be an irremediable miſtake, to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, of aggrandizing the kingdom, if he were permitted to depart from the country under any diſpleaſure.

XXIX. Overcome by ſuch a perſuaſive addreſs, the queen deſired *Columbus* to be ſent for, and ordered, that twenty thouſand *Mara-*

vadis ſhould be advanced, to defray his travelling expences. Immediately on his arrival the negotiation was renewed. *Columbus*, warmed with all the ideas of ſplendor and glory, ſtood out on high terms, and amongſt the reſt inſiſted on being inveſted with the titles of Admiral, and Viceroy, with the authority and juriſdiction annexed to both. He was encouraged, and favoured by Cardinal *D. Pedro Gonſalez de Mendoza*, the firſt Miniſter of the Crown, who, at the requeſt of *Fray Juan Perez*, and the Miniſter of Finance *Quintanilla*, had honoured him with an audience, and conceived a very good opinion of his perſon and addreſs. On the contrary, the Prior *Prado* and ſeveral others looked on the undertaking as too adventurous, and the projector, as a vain inflated man, and that the reward, which he demanded, was enormous, even in caſe he ſhould be able to fulfil his engagements. If he did not ſucceed, they deemed it an abſurdity, to confer ſuch diſtinguiſhed honours on a needy adventurer. It was not poſſible, to accommodate the matter, as *Columbus* peremptorily ſtood out upon the terms

terms which he at firſt propoſed. He prepared himſelf a ſecond time, to ſet out for *France*, when he heard thoſe that envied him ſay, that he would be the only winner if he were exalted to the rank of General Captain of the Fleet of ſuch a great monarch, and that he riſked nothing in caſe he did not ſucceed. This induced him to propoſe that he would take upon himſelf the one eighth part of the expences of the equipment, if the ſame part of the gain ſhould be allowed him. Nevertheleſs, his terms ſeemed to be ſtill ſo high that there was no liſtening to them. *Columbus* gave up all hopes, juſt at the inſtant that he expected to reap the fruits of his troubles, tedious negotiations, preſſing ſolicitations, and fatiguing contradictions. Whilſt the court and the whole nation were ſinging hymns, and celebrating feſtivals, in conſequence of the conqueſt of *Granada*, he ſaw himſelf neglected, and oppreſſed with the thoughts of having loſt ſeven years, the period from his firſt arrival in *Spain*, and compelled to leave a country which he had conſidered as his own, and

uncertain what fate would await him in *France* or *England*. Under all theſe impreſſions his conſtancy never deſerted him; he took leave of his friends and ſet out for *Cordova*, in January 1492.

XXX. Scarce had he departed, when *Luis de St. Angel*, receiver of the eccleſiaſtical rents in *Arragania*, warmed by love and fervent zeal for his country, addreſſed the Queen, and energetically repreſented to her Majeſty, that he was highly ſurpriſed, as ſhe was ever conſidered as the protectreſs and ſupport of great undertakings, that ſhe ſhould ſeem to want courage to put a plan in execution that would bring in immenſe wealth, tend to propagate the chriſtian religion amongſt barbarous nations, redound to the glory of the crown, and add conſiderable countries to the royal domain. It was only peculiar to ſublime and exalted minds, to exert the utmoſt diligence in the diſcoveries of the wonders and myſteries of nature and the world, to diſpel the doubts in which they were involved, and to clear up the truth, for which reaſons it would

would be glorious to attempt ſuch important diſcoveries. It would betray ſomething more than puſillanimity, to give up ſuch an enterprize for the paltry ſum of two thouſand five hundred piaſtres, which was the whole amount of what *Columbus* demanded. Nor were the rewards and honours demanded by *Columbus* out of bounds, as he took upon himſelf a ſhare of the expence, and riſked his honour and life, though it were very likely that he, as a prudent and judicious man, would come off triumphantly. And if this prize ſhould be gained by any other *European* power, who could eſtimate the loſs and damage which the kingdom and the crown would ſuſtain? Friends and enemies would blame the pernicious puſillanimity and ignorance which did not ſeize on an opportunity ſo ſeaſonable, and their very deſcendants would feel the loſs and ſhame of it. *Quintanilla*, who had entered during this addreſs, ſeconded and confirmed *Saint Angel*'s opinions. The Queen collects courage, thanks them for their advice, and promiſes to undertake the whole affair herſelf for the Crown of *Caſtile*. She added, that it would be neceſſary to delay the expeditions till ſhe had

recovered ſomewhat from the war; but if this delay ſhould not fall in with their wiſhes, ſhe was ready to mortgage her jewels for the requiſite ſum to fit out the equipment. *Saint Angel* filled with tranſport, offered to advance the whole, and hoped the royal command would be immediately given to fit out the fleet without delay.

XXXI. A meſſenger was inſtantly diſpatched in purſuit of *Columbus*; he was overtaken on the bridge of *Pinas*, two miles from *Granada*, and when he returned to the town of *Sante Fé*, he was received with ſuch kindneſs and cordiality, that he forgot all the vexations he had undergone. The King took a part in the buſineſs with pleaſure, not only out of complaiſance to the Queen, but at the inſtance of ſeveral perſons of high rank, at the head of whom, was the firſt Lord of the Bed-chamber, *Juan Cabrero*. All obſtacles and difficulties immediately vaniſhed. An order was iſſued to *Juan de Coloma*, Secretary of State, to draw out the contract with *Columbus*, according to his memorial and demands. The writings were expedited on the 17th of April, at *Santa Fé*, in the following

following terms, 1ſt: If *Columbus* ſhould diſcover any iſlands or continent in the ocean, he was to retain in them, for himſelf and his heirs, the dignity of Admiral, with the ſame honours and prerogatives which the high Admiral enjoyed in his diſtrict. 2dly: He was to be Governor General of all the countries which ſhould be diſcovered by him, or any perſon under his direction, and inveſted with the authority of nominating three perſons to the ſpecial government of every iſland or province, the appointment to be at the choice of the King. 3dly: He and his Lieutenants were to hear and determine all ſuits in law, ariſing out of the new commerce, in the ſame manner as the high Admirals of *Caſtile*, in their departments. 4thly: He was to have the tenth part of the profits, of all wares and fruits, that ſhould be acquired by whatever means, within the circuit of his Admiraltyſhip. 5thly, and laſtly: He ſhould contribute the eighth part of the expences of fitting out whatever number of ſhips ſhould be thought neceſſary to be employed in the commerce and intercourſe of the New World, and at the ſame time receive the

ſame

ſame quota from the profits that ſhould be acquired. Agreeably to theſe articles, theſe privileges were granted to him on the 30th of the ſame month, at *Granada*, together with the title of *Don*, which was then only conferred on perſons of high birth.

XXXII. Their Majeſties took care that every thing neceſſary to fit out the equipment ſhould be carried into immediate effect. Nay, they did more than they were obliged to do by the contract. They wrote letters to the Princes who might be found to exiſt at the limits of the eaſtern and weſtern oceans, requeſting that their Ambaſſador and Miniſter would be received, favoured, and protected in the moſt kind and honourable manner. An order was directed to the town of *Seville*, to permit arms, proviſions, and all other things neceſſary for the voyage, to paſs free of all duty. The town of *Polos* was bound to furniſh the crown with two caravals, for three months every year, and theſe two veſſels were now appointed for the expedition.

The care of finding a third ſhip to complete the number ſtipulated by *Columbus*, and

and the requiſite arrangements and preparations for the whole were left to himſelf, for which purpoſe, the ſum of ſeventeen thouſand florins *, deemed to be ſufficient, was paid into his hands, advanced by *Saint Angel*. The King and Queen, beſides, as a teſtimony of his perſonal merit, confirmed, at his requeſt, the liberties and privileges of the mariners of *Saville*; a favour which was very opportunely conferred, as he attracted their attention by it, and gained the confidence and eſteem of the ſeamen. Under all theſe favourable omens, he took leave of the court on the 12th of May, filled with gratitude and pleaſure. According to his inſtruc-

* The expences of the firſt equipment are ſtated by the hiſtorians in a different manner, and Mr. *Munoz* differs from all, not only in ſtating them at a leſs ſum, but in a coin not common to *Spain*, viz. in *florins*, or in *diez ſicte mil florines*. *Herrera*, with whom our author otherwiſe agrees with reſpect to the negociations at the Court of *Caſtile*, has omitted the amount of the expences. *Ferdinand Columbus* takes notice in the life of his father, *en paſſant*, that he had only aſked 20,500 piaſtres for all the expences of the voyage. *Doctor Robertſon* rates them at 4000l. ſterling, without ſtating his authority. T. N.

tions,

tions; he was not to infringe by any means on the poſſeſſions and iſlands of the *Portugueſe* in *Africa*, purſuant to treaty with that crown.

XXXIII. Having arranged every thing with reſpect to the maintenance and education of his two ſons, *Diego* and *Fernando*, he ſet out for the harbour of *Palos*, where the ſhips were to be fitted out. It was a difficult matter to find a ſufficient number of ſeamen to undertake ſuch a dangerous and laborious voyage, though many in the neighbourhood were well acquainted with and practiſed in the navigation of the known ſeas. But what encouraged the people moſt, was the lively zeal and ingenuity of the Guardian of *Rabida*, which was ſeconded by the example and authority of the brothers *Pinzon*, rich ſhip owners, and well ſkilled in nautical affairs, who aſſiſted in perſon and fortune in the advancement of the undertaking. They took upon themſelves a part of the expences which fell upon the Admiral, perſuaded a number of their friends and relations to embark with him, and accelerated by their activity,

activity and pecuniary advances, the equipment of the three veſſels, with proviſions for twelve months, and a crew of ninety men, moſt of them natives of *Palos*, *Maguer*, *Huelva*, and other neighbouring places. The largeſt of the veſſels was named *Santa Maria*, on board of which *Columbus*, as Admiral, hoiſted his flag. To the command of the ſecond, called the *Pinta*, he appointed *Martin Alonſo Pinzon*, and his brother, *Franciſco Martin* was ſteerſman. The third, which carried triangular ſails, was named *Nina*, and was commanded by *Pinzon*, the third brother. *Vicente Yanez*, *Sancho Ruiz*, *Per-Alonſo Nino*, and *Bartholomy Roldan*, accompanied as *pilots*. *Rodrigo Sanchez* of *Segovia*, went as ſuperintendant of the fleet; *Diego de Aranna*, of *Cordova*, as *Alguazil Mayor*; *Rodrigo de Eſcobedo*, as *Notary Royal*; a phyſician of the name of *Alonſo* a ſurgeon of the name of *Juan*, a few ſervants, and ſome other adventures, in all 120 perſons. They embarked in the name of God, having previouſly confeſſed, and taken the ſacrament, after the example of their religious Admiral, for the purpoſe of ſtrengthening their courage.

BOOK III.

I. ON Friday, Auguſt 3d, this fleet of diſcovery weighed anchor in the port of *Palos*, and ſailed down the river *Tinto* into the ocean, towards the *Canary* iſlands. On the Monday following, the *Pinta* broke her rudder. Some of the ſeamen, who had exhibited marks of fear in the harbour, were ſuſpected as the cauſe of this fatal accident, in hopes that it would be the means of inducing the Admiral to return to port. But the intrepid and dexterous *Martin Alonſo*, endeavoured to remedy the diſaſter by binding the rudder with ropes, which, however, were too feeble to reſiſt a blaſt of wind, and only laſted four days. With much ado, the three ſhips at laſt reached the great *Canary* iſland on the 9th of Auguſt, after a voyage of ſix days. They were obliged to remain at this iſland about a month, during which time the triangular ſails of the *Nina* were changed into common

common ones; the *Pinta* was alſo ſupplied with a new rudder, previous to which it was deliberated whether it would not be better to take a veſſel of forty tons burden in her ſtead, which was about her tonnage.

II. With ſuch veſſels as theſe, *Columbus* committed himſelf to an ocean, whoſe bounds were unknown, on the 6th of September, and ſteered his courſe from the iſle of *Gomera* directly to the weſt. At the laſt ſight of the iſles, many of the hands began to ſigh and weep, and gave over all hopes of ever ſeeing land again. The Admiral encouraged them with the flattering proſpects of fruitful and extenſive countries, and as he foreſaw that their fears and deſpondency would encreaſe, in proportion as they advanced on their voyage; he had the precaution to keep two journals, a ſecret one in which he accurately noted down the ſhips' way, and a public one, in which he artfully ſhortened it. He obſerved, to his great ſurprize, about two hundred leagues off the iſle of *Ferro*, that the needle did not point as uſual to the north, but declined to N. W.

He

He marked down this declination, hitherto unknown, and found that it encreaſed in proportion as they advanced to the weſt. At firſt he imagined that the needle, as commonly ſuppoſed, was not attracted or ruled by the polar ſtar, but by ſome other fixed and inviſible point; but when theſe declinations were more frequently obſerved, he found that this hypotheſis was not ſufficient to explain the cauſe of ſuch variations; for it was obſerved that ſeveral needles pointed at the beginning of the night to the north weſt, and at break of day were parallel with the meridian*. This phænomenon, as it was then called, filled the captains and pilots of

* On the principles of the ingenious Mr. Euler, (ſee the Berlin Acts, volume for the year 1757) the declination of the magnetic needle may in great meaſure be accounted for. That is, ſuppoſing the magnetic poles of this earth to be, at any one time ſince actual obſervations have been made on that ſubject, only two, but not ſituated diametrically oppoſite to each other. (See Cavallo's Treatiſe on Magnetiſm, p. 117.) It is alſo well known that the magnetic declination is not only different in different parts of the earth at the ſame time, but that in a courſe of years it alſo becomes different in the ſame place. Farther, that this declination in

with terror and amazement, convinced that all hopes muſt vaniſh when the mariner's compaſs

in the ſame place is not only different in different years, but even the afternoon declination is generally different from the forenoon declination of the ſame day.

This ſubject appeared very unaccountable till the year 1759, when the late Mr. John Canton explained it in a very ingenious manner; for having found by experiment, that by heating a magnet it loſt part of its attractive power, and by letting it cool, it recovered that power again; he likewiſe diſcovered by repeated obſervations, that while the eaſtern parts of the earth were heated by the ſun in the forenoon, and conſequently had their magnetic powers diminiſhed, the needle generally inclined more to the weſtward, and that after the ſun had paſſed our meridian, and the weſtern parts of the earth began to be heated, while thoſe on the eaſt of the meridian were cooled, the declination of the needle was leſs weſterly by ſeveral minutes, and that by next morning it had returned to its former poſition nearly. We ſay nearly, for after a courſe of more than twelve months attentive obſervation he found, that the declination was upon the whole increaſed of about ten or twelve minutes of a degree. That this increaſe was occaſioned by the ſun's heat, appeared the more probable, as it took place moſtly in the ſummer months; and during the winter months there was but little alteration.

compaſs became uſeleſs. But the ingenious *Columbus*, whoſe preſence of mind never deſerted

It muſt be allowed, according to the obſervations of ſeveral ingenious gentlemen, that the collective magnetiſm of this earth ariſes from the magnetiſm of all the ferruginous bodies therein contained, and that the magnetic poles ſhould therefore be conſidered as the centres of the powers of thoſe magnetic ſubſtances. Theſe poles muſt therefore change their places according as the magnetiſm of ſuch ſubſtances is affected; and if with Mr. Canton we allow that the general cauſe of the diurnal variation ariſes from the ſun's heat in the forenoon and afternoon of the ſame day, it will naturally occur, that the ſame cauſe, being continued, may be ſufficient to produce the general variation of the magnetic needle for any number of years. For we muſt conſider that ever ſince any attentive obſervations have been made on this ſubject, the natural direction of the magnetic needle in Europe has been conſtantly moving, from weſt to eaſt, and that in other parts of the world it has continued its motion with equal conſtancy.

As we muſt therefore admit that the heat in the different ſeaſons depends chiefly on the ſun, and upon the whole that the months of July and Auguſt will probably be found the hotteſt, while January and February are the coldeſt months of the year; and that the temperature of the other months falls into the reſpective intermediate degrees; though from calculation we can ſcarce pretend

to

ſerted him, diſpelled their fears, by accounting for this phænomenon in a plauſible manner,

to aſcertain the abſolute heat of any particular month or day; ſo we muſt conſider the influence of heat upon magnetiſm to operate in the like manner, viz. that for a ſhort time it ſcarcely manifeſts itſelf; yet in the courſe of a century, the conſtancy and regularity thereof becomes ſufficiently apparent. It would therefore be idle to ſuppoſe, that ſuch an influence could be derived from an uncertain or fortuitous cauſe. But if it be allowed to depend upon the conſtancy of the ſun's motion, and this appears to be a cauſe ſufficient to explain the phænomena, we ſhould (agreeably to Newton's firſt law of philoſophizing) look no farther.

As we therefore conſider the magnetic powers of the earth to be concentrated in the magnetic poles, and that there is a diurnal variation of the magnetic needle, theſe poles muſt perform a ſmall diurnal revolution proportional to ſuch variation, and return again to the ſame point nearly. Suppoſe then that the ſun in his diurnal revolution paſſes along the northern tropic, or along any parallel of latitude between it and the æquator, when he comes to that meridian in which the magnetic pole is ſituated, he will be much nearer to it, than in any other; and in the oppoſite meridian he will of courſe be the fartheſt from it. As the influence of the ſun's heat will therefore act moſt powerfully at the leaſt, and leſs forcibly at the greateſt diſtance, the magnetic pole

ner, by attributing it to the diurnal motion of the polar ſtar round the pole. Thus the crew

will conſequently deſcribe a figure ſomething of the elliptical kind; and as it is well known that the greateſt heat of the day is ſome time after the ſun has paſſed the meridian, the longeſt axis of this elliptical figure will lie north-eaſterly in the northern, and ſouth-eaſterly in the ſouthern hemiſphere. Again, as the influence of the ſun's heat will not from thoſe quarters have ſo much power, the magnetic poles cannot be moved back to the very ſame point, from which they ſet out; but to one which will be a little more northerly and eaſterly, or more ſoutherly and eaſterly, according to the hemiſpheres in which they are ſituated. The figures therefore which they deſcribe, may more properly be termed elliptoidal ſpirals.

In this manner the variation of the magnetic needle in the northern hemiſphere may be accounted for. But with reſpect to the ſouthern hemiſphere we muſt recollect, that though the lines of declination in the northern hemiſphere have conſtantly moved from weſt to eaſt, yet in the ſouthern hemiſphere, it is equally certain that they have moved from eaſt to weſt, ever ſince any obſervations have been made on the ſubject. Is it poſſible then that the magnetic pole in the ſouthern hemiſphere can move from eaſt to weſt, whilſt that in the northern hemiſphere moves from weſt to eaſt?—I think

crew were perpetually ſuſpended betwixt hopes and fears, according to the appearance

think not. But we muſt conſider this matter a little more attentively. In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that in ſpeaking of the declination or variation of the magnetic needle, we always refer to the north end of the needle only. Thus, when the north end of the needle points to the weſt of the meridian, we ſay it has ſo many degrees weſt variation, though the ſouth end thereof points as many degrees to the eaſtward. Again, when the north end of the needle points to the eaſtward of the meridian, we ſay it has eaſt variation, though the ſouth end points to the weſtward thereof. And the ſame language is uſed in the ſouthern as in the northern hemiſphere; ſo that if the ſouth magnetic pole, which governs the needle in that hemiſphere, move to the eaſtward, occaſions, as we ſay, the needle to have weſt variation; and, on the contrary, if it move to the weſtward, it makes what we term eaſt variation. This therefore is the cauſe, on account of which the lines of magnetic declination, or Halleyan curves, as they are now commonly called, appear to have a contrary motion in the ſouthern hemiſphere, to what they have in the northern; though both the magnetic poles of the earth move in the ſame direction, that is from weſt to eaſt.——*Lorimer on Magnetiſm.*

T. N.

of the different objects that inſpired the one, or agitated the other.

III. On the 14th of September, the crew of the *Nina* perceived a ſea fowl *(Rabode Junco)* which appeared to have come from ſome land at no great diſtance. The next day they ſaw a ſurpriſing flame of fire deſcend at a diſtance, and ſoon after they diſcovered entire fields covered with graſs and marine plants in the midſt of the ſea, which reſembled beautiful and extenſive meadows. Some rejoiced very much at thoſe preſages of land, and their hopes were increaſed, when one of the ſeamen found a living crab in the ſuppoſed graſs; others were afraid that the veſſels might ſtrike on concealed ſandbanks, or that the graſs might impede their courſe, which really happened to be the caſe. They ſoon ſaw again a number of ſea fowl of the firſt kind they had ſeen, and a great quantity of tunnies. They had now ſailed upwards of four hundred leagues in an unknown ſea, when the captain of the *Pinta* declared that he had deſcried many birds towards the weſt, and

marks

marks of land enveloped in thick fogs towards the north. *Columbus* was of opinion, that it might be a cluſter of petty iſlands; and as he was firmly perſuaded, that the *Indian* countries muſt be farther off, he continued the ſame courſe towards the weſt, in a calm and favourable gale. *

IV. The impatience and timidity of the crews now burſt forth into open murmurings. They had got ſo far into the boundleſs deep, that even the boldeſt mariner was affrighted. Even the calm and ſerene weather was conſidered as the prelude to misfortune, and the forerunner of deſtruction; they conſidered all countries that might afford any relief, as far remote; the almoſt continued eaſterly winds, with which they had began their voyage,

* Columbus ſteered his courſe according to the maps and directions of *Toſcanelli*, in conſequence of which he was convinced that he muſt ſail about 750 leagues beyond the *Canaries*, to reach the iſland of *Cipango*; for to that iſland he referred his companions, as the principal object of the whole voyage, when they, as it was but too often the caſe, deſired him to ſteer another courſe. *Herrera*, *Dec.* I. C. XI. p. 19. T. N.

induced them to believe, that their return by the ſame track would be utterly impoſſible. Some time after, however, they reſumed a little courage, when they ſaw ſome of thoſe fowl, which from the 19th of September, had given ſuch hopes of the contiguity of land. Even *Columbus* did not conſider this as improbable, in conſequence of which he began to ſound, and though ground could not be diſcovered two hundred fathoms deep; yet he never laid the line out of his hand, becauſe the following days preſented ſucceſſive objects, which led him to entertain the hopes he had conceived; a whale was now and then ſeen, little fiſh, new meadows floating on the ſurface of the water, on which ſmall crabs and turtles were found; alſo ſmall ſinging birds, which ſeemed to be of the land kind, and which could not have come from any great diſtance. Notwithſtanding all theſe marks, however, when the land ſo impatiently ſought for by every eye did not appear, the crews began to murmur afreſh, and ſtill louder than ever. Nothing alarmed them ſo much as the continuance of the eaſterly wind, which would prevent

prevent their return. It is true, at the time the wind had ſhifted to the ſouth-weſt, but they did not conſider it as laſting, or ſtrong enough to drive them with ſufficient ſpeed to the eaſt, eſpecially as it did not even throw the waves into motion. *Columbus* in vain attempted to perſuade them, that this calm aroſe from the ſhade of ſome neighbouring land; he was neither believed nor reſpected, notwithſtanding all his exertions to maintain his authority, by alternate threats and promiſes. When his authority was almoſt entirely ſunk, and even the ſacred name of the King no longer reſpected, he gave over almoſt every human aid of inſuring obedience and due ſubmiſſion, and of continuing his voyage, when on the morning of the 23d, agreeably to the wiſhes of the crew, a north weſterly wind ſprung up, and the ſea became ſomewhat agitated. This he conſidered as a diſtinguiſhed mark of divine favour, becauſe this circumſtance, and the ſight of more fiſh and fowl, once more calmed the turbulance of the mariners.

V. But

V. But alas, this was a ſhort-lived joy; when they reflected on the fallibility of all thoſe flattering omens, the great damage the ſhips had ſuſtained, and the large tract of ocean, which lay betwixt them and their native country; a dreadful fear ſeized on all; they began to plot and conſpire, and in the agony of their grief, curſed the author of their misfortunes, whom they characteriſed as an ambitious fantaſtic fellow, whoſe only object was to gratify his wild ambition at the expenſe of their lives; and that to hazard ſuch a daring enterprize againſt the opinion of ſo many learned and eminent men was neither more nor leſs than an impudent temerity, which called down the ſevereſt puniſhment. They had now made a voyage that was never equalled before; to advance farther, their deſtruction would be inevitable. The general determination was, that they ſhould return to *Spain*, to which ſome of them added, that if the Admiral did not immediately accede to this, they would throw him ſecretly overboard, and give out that he had fallen into the ſea as he was conſulting the ſtars. Such was the ſpirit and intrepidity of *Columbus*, notwithſtanding the imminent dangers which threatened

threatened him, that he was determined to run the riſk of his life rather than relinquiſh his deſign. He had the addreſs to ſoothe ſome with ſoft words, flattering promiſes, others with reproaches of cowardice, threats and menaces in conſequence of the full powers with which he was inveſted; he endeavoured alſo to encourage ſome; to fan the ſparks of honour in others, and to frighten the rebellious into proper ſubjection. He continued to purſue his courſe to the weſt with perſeverance, except at one time, that he deviated to the ſouth-weſt, in conſequence of the advice of *Martin Alonſo Pinzon*, who fancied he ſaw land towards that quarter, but it ſoon appeared that it had been a cloud, and the Admiral returned, to the great mortification of the crew, to his former courſe. Fiſh, fowl, and verdant ſpots, often appeared on the ſurface of the main again. Hopes and fears alternately reigned, according to the different impreſſions of the objects. They all obſerved with the utmoſt attention whatever ſtruck their eyes; but *Columbus*, above all, who, in addition to his unremitting attention to the aſtrolobe, the needle, and other

other nautical inſtruments, was alſo under the neceſſity of deviſing artful and ingenious arguments, to calm the agitated minds of the mariners, and to extinguiſh the ſparks of mutiny.

VI. On the 1ſt of October, the diſtance from the iſle of *Ferro* amounted to 707 leagues, but in the public journal he had marked only 584. With this reckoning, the pilot of the main ſhip muſt be acquainted, for he reckoned 578 *. The pilots of the two other veſſels ſtated it leſs. Whether it was through miſtake, or agreement amongſt the Admiral, captains, and pilots, the true diſtance was unanimouſly concealed, leſt it ſhould diſhearten the men. On the third day, ſeveral fowl which had been ſeen the

* The ſtatements of the journals differed very much from each other. *Columbus*'s pilot laid down the diſtance from the *Canary* iſlands at 588 leagues. The Admiral, according to his own obſervations, which he publiſhed, calculated it at 707 leagues, and according to his ſecret journal it was 707. The pilot of the *Nina* laid it down at 650—according to that of the *Pinta*, 634. *Herrera*, p. 18. T. N.

preceding

preceding day, diſappeared; moſt of the crew conjectured, that they were flying to and from the iſlands, betwixt which they had ſailed, and they wiſhed to ſeek thoſe iſlands on the way to the ſouth or the north. *Columbus* continually refuſed to make uſe of the favourable wind which drove him farther to the weſt, where he ſoon hoped to make diſcoveries, as well as to maintain the good opinion of his voyage, by incidentally ſeeking, what he affected to know with perfect certainty. The malcontents were ready to burſt forth into mutiny afreſh, when on the evening of the fourth, beſides the uſual marks, a number of little birds appeared flying in flocks; ſimilar objects followed in ſo great a quantity, and in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion, that ſome, whoſe imagination was inflamed with the impatience of ſeeing land, imagined that they ſaw it at every moment, and ſcarce could their lips refrain from the annunciation of a proſpect ſo truly deſirable. The thirſt of gain had its ſhare, however, in this anxiety; for the King had promiſed a penſion of 30 dollars, or 10,000 maravedis a year, to the firſt that ſhould deſcry land.

The

The ſagacious Admiral obſerved that hope, often diſappointed, depreſſed the ſpirits, and in order to prevent this, he ordered that the firſt perſon who ſhould cry out "land!" ſhould be entirely excluded from the royal bounty, if the land ſhould not be diſcovered within three days after.

VII. Nevertheleſs, on the morning of the 7th of October, the *Nina*, which was a quicker ſailer, and of courſe uſually a-head of the reſt, believed to a certainty, that ſhe had diſcovered land, and as a token of joy, hoiſted her flag, and fired a gun. It was ſoon found to have been an illuſion, and the diſappointment had ſuch an effect upon the minds of the crews, that the agitation was ſtill greater than before. The tumult and confuſion became ſo univerſal, that, if we may give credit to *Oviedo*, *Columbus* and the *Pinzones*, on the following day, October the 8th, found themſelves ſo embarraſſed and preſſed on every ſide, as to be obliged to enter into an agreement with his hands, that in caſe land ſhould not be diſcovered in three days after that, he would return; this

part

part of the narrative, however, ſeems uncertain. We have the cleareſt proof of the courage of *Martin Alonſo* and his brothers, as well as the intrepidity and preſence of mind of the Admiral. Even the anxiety and agitation of the crew ſubſided in a ſhort time, becauſe ſeveral flattering appearances immediately roſe to view, and amongſt the reſt, a great number of little birds, with varied plumage and melodious notes, all of which were flying in flocks to the ſouth-weſt. This circumſtance reminded them of the experience of the *Portugueſe* mariners, who, on purſuing the flight of ſuch birds, had diſcovered many of their iſles. And as they had already ſailed upwards of 750 leagues weſt of the *Canaries*, in which region *Columbus* hoped to find the iſle of *Cipango*, he declined from the parallel of the iſland of *Ferro*, according to which he had hitherto ſteered his courſe, and went about the fourth part ſouthwards, according to the flight which the birds took, that were now conſtantly ſeen. On the morning of the ninth, they breathed a freſh and odoriferous air, ſuch as is felt at *Seville*, in April. Every moment

moment exhibited freſh marks of a contiguous ſhore: the ſoundings, the form and aſpect of the atmoſphere, the frequent change of the winds, and other infallible appearances, revived their drooping ſpirits every moment. Notwithſtanding all this, the timidity and agitation of the crew encreaſed again, and a menacing murmur was kept alive by the diſcontented. The Admiral once more upbraided them with puſillanimity and cowardice, in ſo firm and authoritative a tone, with which the conſciouſneſs of undoubted ſucceſs inſpired him.

VIII. On the evening of the 11th, they were all tranſported with joy, when they diſcovered a green ruſh, a kind of fiſh, that is generally found amongſt rocks; a ſmall plank, a cane, a ſtick, artificially worked; a graſſy turf, which appeared to have been wafted from the ſhore, and a thorn buſh, bearing red berries. When the night approached, and *Columbus* was perſuaded that they were near land, he aſſembled the crews, and reminded them of the unſpeakable obligations they were under to Almighty God,

God, who had granted them ſuch favourable weather, and who, notwithſtanding their murmurs, had not deſerted them, till he had conducted them to the great object of their adventurous voyage. He alſo recalled to their recollection the firſt article of inſtructions which he had given them in the *Canaries*, that when they had ſailed about 700 leagues from thoſe iſles, it would not be prudent to ſail after midnight, and as he was certain that they would be ſoon bleſt with the ſight of ſome ſhore, it was neceſſary to warn them to be watchful and on their guard, as he would give a ſilk waiſtcoat to the firſt that diſcovered land, over and above the royal penſion of thirty dollars. About ten o'clock at night, as he was making obſervations with his uſual attention on the quarter deck, he ſaw a light ſomewhat like a torch, carried from one place to another. At firſt he called *Pedro Gutierrez*, a royal page, and afterwards the ſuperintendant, *Rodrigo Sanchez* of *Segovia*, who ſaw it likewiſe. It was remarked, that this light roſe, ſunk, vaniſhed, and inſtantly appeared again; it was concluded, that it was carried

by people in their hands. About two o'clock in the morning, land was deſcried by the *Pinta*, at the diſtance of about two leagues, as ſhe was a-head of the reſt. The firſt who had the good fortune to announce this welcome intelligence, was a mariner of the name of *Rodrigo* of *Triana*. The captain of the *Pinta* communicated the joyful news by the diſcharge of guns. The ſhips came together, and as ſoon as it was broad day light, a flat and pleaſant iſland appeared in view, full of limpid rivulets, and abundance of green buſhes. The crews were filled with the livelieſt tranſports of joy; the Admiral lifted up his heart and eyes to Heaven, and poured forth many ejaculations of thanks and praiſe to God. The whole crew joined in the pſalm, *Te Deum laudamus*, which he began to ſing, and as ſoon as they had paid their early vows to the Divine Author of all bleſſings, they all gave themſelves up to ſport and pleaſantry; their feelings on this occaſion influenced their opinions. *Columbus*, who had hitherto been conſidered as a vain fantaſtical projector, was now changed, by ſucceſs, into a hero in their eyes.

All

All thoſe that belonged to his ſhip, crowded round him as their guardian angel, and every one did him homage in the manner which he thought the moſt expreſſive of his gratitude, affection, and high reſpect.

IX. In the mean time, as the veſſels approached the ſhore, the novelty of the ſpectacle brought together a number of the aſtoniſhed inhabitants. The Admiral and the Captains went on ſhore, accompanied by armed men. The royal colours flying in the air were carried before the former, and the latter were preceded by the ſtandard of the enterprize, on which a green crucifix, with the initial letters of *Fernando* and *Iſabella*, were painted, in honour of the Chriſtian religion and their Majeſties, under whoſe auſpices the expedition was undertaken. As ſoon as they had reached the long-wiſhed for ſhore, they fell on the ground, kiſſed it, bedewed it with tears of joy, and repeated their thanks to the Supreme Being on their knees. *Columbus* then roſe, and pronounced the word *Salvador* aloud, as the name of the iſland, and as a teſtimony, that he dedicated the firſt of his

diſcoveries to our Saviour. He then took ſolemn poſſeſſion of it, for and in the name of the *Caſtilian* crown. The *Spaniards* inſtantly hailed the illuſtrious diſcoverer as Admiral and Viceroy of the iſland, and took the oath of allegiance to him as ſuch; many at the ſame time entreated his forgiveneſs, for the ſorrow and diſtreſs which they had occaſioned in his mind, in conſequence of their puſillanimity and irregular behaviour.

X. The natives, who were preſent at all theſe ſcenes, were aſtoniſhed and perplexed at the novelty of the ſhips, the men, their colour, dreſs, arms, ceremonies, &c. Our men were almoſt as much ſurprized, as the iſlanders differed from themſelves in almoſt every reſpect, except in the ſhape and ſize of their limbs, which were regular as well as their features, which, however, were deformed by foreheads uncommonly broad. Their ſkin was of an olive colour, like that of the inhabitants of the *Canary* iſlands, or ſun-burned peaſants; their hair thick, black and erect, moſtly cut off above their ears, hanging down the ſhoulders of ſome, or tied up with a ſtring

a ſtring round their heads; they went quite naked, painted, or rather ſpecked with different colours, either more or leſs of a deeper tinge. They appeared to be very mild tempered, but extremely ſtupid*; ſo ignorant and deſtitute of any kind of knowledge, that they were incapable of forming any conception of the new objects around them. The firſt impreſſion ſeemed to raiſe in their minds an idea of a ſuperior order of beings, in conſequence of which they ran away with the utmoſt precipitation, but when they ſaw that no one purſued them, they collected ſufficient courage by degrees to return, with marks of the deepeſt humility; ſome threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth, and others raiſed their eyes and hands to Heaven, endeavouring to expreſs by ſuch geſticulations

* *Don Ferdinand Columbus*, in his account of the life of his father, (in which he ſometimes introduces extracts from the Admiral's journal) ſays, that the iſlanders peculiarly admired the naked ſwords of the *Spaniards*, that they laid hold of them by the edge, and wounded themſelves with them; much like the inhabitants of *Otaheite*, who, when they firſt ſaw boiling water, ran to catch it in their hands as it flowed from the tea-kettle. T. N.

that they conſidered the *Spaniards* as deſcended from Heaven *.

Columbus

* This belief, and the opinion that the *Spaniards* were immortal, prevailed for a long time amongſt the natives of the New World, and continued after ſome nations had experienced ſufficient proofs to the contrary. *Oviedo*, who lived amongſt them from 1513, to 1545, relates a remarkable inſtance of it. The inhabitants of *Porto Rico*, (*San Juan*) after the *Spaniards* had almoſt entirely ſubdued them, wiſhed to convince themſelves whether their new maſters were mortal like themſelves. One of their *Caziques* wiſhed for this opportunity; he endeavoured, by ſeveral acts of kindneſs, to induce a *Spaniard* to viſit him. The young man at laſt accepted of the invitation, and looked upon himſelf to be quite ſafe. He was perſuaded to let himſelf be carried over a river. In the midſt of it, thoſe that bore him, dropt him into the water, and held him ſo long in it that he was drowned. They brought the breathleſs body to the ſhore, but could not perſuade themſelves that he was dead; they called on him repeatedly by his name, *Salcedo*, "Get up, it is not our fault that you "fell into the river." They ſtaid by the corpſe three days, till it began to ſmell. This was reported to the *Cazique*, but he was ſo far from giving credit to it, that he ſent others to ſee if *Salcedo* did not riſe when called. At laſt he went to view the body himſelf, but this did not convince him; he ordered it to be watched till it

was

Columbus diſtributed ſeveral beads of glaſs, little bells, and other trifles amongſt them, which they preferred to gold and diamonds. Thoſe who had not been preſented with any of thoſe trinkets, offered whatever they poſſeſſed for them. As the *Spaniards* were on their return to the ſhips, ſeveral of the natives followed them, and thoſe that could not get into canoes, ſwam, and when they got a few glaſs beads, and broken bits of glaſs, they returned quite contented.

XI. The firſt and ſecond day paſſed away in this little commercial intercourſe and viſits. The rudeneſs and poverty of the people were viſible on every occaſion; the only articles of barter which they commonly produced, were bottoms of cotton, very well ſpun, parrots, ſticks like lances, and javelins with points hardened in the fire, and ſharp-pointed bones joined to them,

was in ſuch a ſtate as to remove all doubt. The natives now began to think that the *Spaniards* were ſubject to death like themſelves, the conſequence of which was a general inſurrection in a ſhort time after. *Oviedo.* L. xvi. c. 8. T. N.

Theſe were the only arms they exhibited; there were no uncommon animals to be ſeen, nor higher marks of art. They worked the wood by the help of ſharp ſtones. With ſuch inſtruments, and the aid of fire, perhaps, they hollowed trunks of trees, and formed them into canoes; the largeſt of which would carry forty-five men, and the ſmalleſt one; which they rowed with oars or paddles, ſhaped like a baker's peel, and if overſet by accident, they were ſuch excellent ſwimmers, that they could turn them again, and bale out the water with gourds or pomkins. What ſolely excited the attention and avidity of the *Spaniards*, were little pieces of gold, which ſome had ſuſpended from the noſe*. Being aſked, by the means of ſigns, where they had got this metal, they pointed to other large countries in the ſouth, where it was to be found in abundance. They alſo repreſented in the ſame mute language, that ſavage and warlike men came to their iſle from the north-weſt to plunder, and that in thoſe

* *Columbus*, in the beginning, miſtook thoſe ornaments for kinds of coin, and fancied that he ſaw ſtrange letters upon them. *Herrera*, p. 23. T. N.

battles

battles they had received many wounds, the ſcars of which they ſhewed.

XII. Thus *Columbus* was convinced of the exiſtence of a continent, or rich iſlands at no great diſtance to the ſouth and the weſt. He ſuppoſed they belonged to the *Aſiatic Archipelago*, and that he ſhould find in them the precious products of the *Indies*; he reſolved to trace them, as ſoon as he had acquired ſome knowledge of the nature of *St. Salvador*, the name that he continued to call the iſland by, though he had been informed that the natives called it *Guanahani*; in my opinion, it is the ſame iſland that is now-a-days called *Watlin*, ſurrounded with cliffs. It is probable that *Columbus* landed at the ſouth-weſtern point of it, and rowed from thence in boats towards the north north-eaſt, along the weſtern coaſt, and round the north point, then along the eaſtern coaſt, which is the longer ſide of the iſle. They ſaw three hamlets, a capacious harbour, and a ſpot of land, which formed a peninſula, joined to the iſland by ſo narrow a neck of land, that it ſeemed only to require two days labour to

cut

cut it away. There were ſix dwelling houſes, or cots, on this peninſula, ſhaded with trees, that reſembled a beautiful garden. As the boats were rowing round the coaſt, the natives followed on the ſhore, and called to each other to ſee the people who had deſcended from Heaven. Some ſwam, and others in their canoes came near the *Spaniards*, and generouſly offered to them all that they poſſeſſed, and received whatever was preſented to them, with the moſt lively marks of gratitude and joy. Notwithſtanding their ſimplicity and openneſs, they evinced, however, a great facility of rendering themſelves intelligent, and of pronouncing Spaniſh words, from which *Columbus* concluded that they would ſoon be able to learn ſomething of our language, which might render them in future as druggermen or interpreters, in which he was not diſappointed, as experience confirmed, with reſpect to ſeven of them, whom he had taken aboard.

XIII. Having paſſed three days at *St. Salvador*, he ſailed to a ſmaller iſland, about ſeven leagues diſtant from the former, and without ſtopping

ſtopping there, he ſhaped his courſe to another, which ſeemed to be larger than the laſt, and about ten leagues to the weſt. He caſt anchor here, and took poſſeſſion of it, called it *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, in honour of the *Holy Virgin*. The inhabitants approached with the ſame marks of aſtoniſhment and reſpect as thoſe of *Salvador*, whom they reſembled ſo exactly in their perſons, canoes, artificial works, and the fruits of the iſland, that they ſeemed to be one nation. From this iſland, *Columbus* ſailed eight miles farther to the weſt, and alighted upon a ſtill greater iſland, level like the reſt, beautiful, and encircled with delighful coaſts. In all probability, it was that which is called in the modern charts, *Gato*; he called it *Fernandina*, in honour of the memory of the Catholic King. *Columbus* immediately diſpatched a native of *S. Salvador*, with ſome trinkets, as preſents to the inhabitants, and ordered him to inform them at the ſame time of the pacific intentions of the *Spaniards*, in conſequence of which they did not fly; but they were not leſs amazed than the other iſlanders, and evinced the ſame high opinion

of

of our people. As ſome of the ſeamen went aſhore to procure a freſh ſupply of water, the natives aſſiſted them with all the alacrity imaginable in filling and carrying it to the boats. The uſual barter immediately commenced, by which it appeared that theſe iſlanders were not ſo limited in their ideas as the reſt, and that they were ſomewhat farther advanced in civilization, for they attended more to their intereſt in the exchange of their commodities. They wore mantles of cotton, and the young women above eighteen years of age, covered their privities with a band of the ſame ſtuff. Their houſes, or huts, reſembled tents, but entirely deſtitute of ornaments, or any other thing worthy of attention, except ſwinging beds, which they called hamoks, which conſiſted of a net ſuſpended from two poſts by cotton ropes; as to other things, they differed little or not at all from the other iſlanders. The only land animals which appeared, were a kind of little dogs, which did not bark; there were ſome reptiles, ſuch as lizards and ſerpents. They alſo ſaw ſeveral fiſh of different ſhapes, and very lively colours. What

peculiarly

peculiarly attracted their attention, were certain trees, with branches and leaves of various forms on each tree, and yet as different from each other as thoſe of the reed and the maſtic. When they ſailed farther to the ſouth-weſt, they came to an iſland, which ſurpaſſed all thoſe they had yet diſcovered, as well in ſize, as in the beauty of the proſpects. This iſle roſe higher above the ſurface of the ſea, and the interior was not ſo flat and uniform as the reſt, but exhibited a variety of hills, beautiful meadows and groves, and was well watered. Allured by ſuch enchanting ſcenes, *Columbus* went on ſhore, in order to take poſſeſſion of it, and tranſmuting the old name of it, *Samoetos*, into that of *Iſabella*, in honour of the Queen. It is probably, that which is known by the name of Long iſland. He travelled ſo far into it till he found a village, the inhabitants of which fled, affrighted at the ſight of the foreigners. They took courage, however, in a ſhort time, and began to barter like the reſt, whom they reſembled very much in every thing. What was found in particular, were aloe plants, a vaſt number of ſinging birds, and

two

two of thoſe lizards, which are known under the name of *Iguanas*, *(Leguans)* amphibious animals of an extraordinary ſize, and hideous aſpect.

XIV. The wiſhes of the *Spaniards* were not gratified with all theſe fine views; they were impatient to reach the rich countries which *Columbus* had promiſed; for theſe iſlands did not by any means anſwer their expectations, nor had they any reaſon to ſuppoſe that ſeveral others ſeen at a diſtance by the crews, or pointed to by the iſlanders, were in a better ſtate of cultivation, or richer. The natives of theſe different iſles kept up a communication, and carried on trade with each other; of courſe the inhabitants of the *Lucayan Iſlands* muſt reſemble each other very much, and as far as it has been obſerved, they actually did ſo. The name *Lucayan* was given to that cluſter of little iſles, lying northwards of *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, and eaſt and ſouthwards of the Peninſula of *Florida*, under the twenty-firſt till almoſt twenty-eighth degree of polar height, of which *Lucayoneque* or *Yucayoneque*, as

as it is called, among the greater ones is ſituated the moſt northerly, and next to that of *Bahama* alſo the moſt weſtern, and all the reſt have received their name from it. *Columbus* therefore reſolved to loſe no further time in the examination of iſlands, where nature and induſtry did not offer any valuable fruits or commodities, he ſteered his courſe to the ſouth, in order to ſeek that great country, which all the *Lucayans* unanimouſly indicated under the name of *Cuba*, and repreſented by expreſſions and geſtures, which conveyed the ideas to our people of its immenſe richneſs in gold and pearls, wealthy nations, powerful kings, abundance of ſhips, and opulent merchants. Theſe circumſtances, compared with the place where *Toſcanelli*'s chart pointed out the utmoſt limit of the *Indies*, and iſlands contiguous thereto, led *Columbus* and the *Pinzons* to conjecture that this *Cuba* might be the renowned *Japan*.

XV. They diſcovered it on the 27th of October, at night-fall, on the northern coaſt. The firſt view next morning preſented a moſt

moſt beautiful country, diverſified with gently riſing hills, lofty mountains, extenſive lawns, and conſiderable rivers. The fleet anchored at the mouth of one of them, in full view of the moſt enchanting proſpect imaginable. The ſhores were covered with verdant trees, ſome in vernal bloom, and others weighed down with fruit, with palms of a different kind from ours. The richneſs of the graſs ſeemed to vie with that which cloathes the verdant vallies of *Andaluſia* in the months of April and May. *Columbus* was ſo charmed with the view, that he ſprung aſhore, took poſſeſſion of the iſle, and called it *Juana*, after the name of Prince *Don Juan*; he gave the name of *S. Salvador* to the rivers in which he firſt anchored. Two houſes were diſcovered, which contained many fire places, with nets, fiſhing-hooks formed of bones, and other piſcatory inſtruments, and a mute little dog was found, but none of the inhabitants appeared, who perhaps had fled with fright at the ſight of the ſhips. The *Lucayans*, who had accompanied the *Spaniards*, pointed to the villages towards the weſt, in conſequence of which *Columbus* on the

the next morning, the 29th, croſſed the river, and purſued that way along the coaſt. In the courſe of a mile, he diſcovered a river, and a little farther on a larger one, called *Mares*, with an indifferent harbour, and a number of habitations along the ſhore. The fleet entered this haven, and *Columbus*, anxious to know the country, diſpatched ſome men in boats to the villages, but the inhabitants ran away at their approach, in the utmoſt haſte. The cottages were of the ſame ſimple ſtructure with the former, like tents covered with palm leaves, but larger and ſomewhat better decorated. The nets, hooks, and fiſhing utenſils were alſo proportionably preferable. Several tame wood fowls were found, little dogs, and heads, and figures cut in wood, which exhibited ſome progreſs in the art of carving. It was ſuppoſed that theſe cots belonged to fiſhermen, who furniſhed the towns with fiſh, which they hoped to find in advancing into the interior of the country.

XVI. Impreſſed with this idea they ſailed along the coaſt. At the diſtance of fifteen miles they ſaw a cape crowned with many palm-trees, to which it was indebted for its name. The iſlanders of *Guanahani*, who were on board the *Pinta*, ſaid there was a river behind it, and that after four days travel they would arrive at *Cubanacan*, where plenty of gold was to be found, by which they meant the mines of a province ſituated in the middle of *Cuba*, for *Nacan*, in the native language of that country, ſignifies the middle. But Captain *Martin Alonſo*, prepoſſeſſed with the ideas of the Admiral, imagined they were ſpeaking of the great *Kan*, and a rich town in his dominions. *Columbus*, who was informed of it, was of the ſame opinion, and propoſed to pay a viſit, if poſſible, to that monarch, or at leaſt to ſend him ſome preſents, and his letters of recommendation from the king of *Spain*. He continued his courſe for a day, till he ſaw a cape ſurrounded with ſandbanks, which ran very far into the ſea. He ſailed along the coaſt N. N. W. The north wind then began to blow, and

grew

grew more violent. This contrariety of the wind, the ſight of another cape, projecting ſtill farther than any he had yet ſeen, the ſolitary ſtate of the coaſts, and the weak condition of the ſhips, impelled him to return to the river *Mares*.

XVII. The fleet remained in this river from the 30th of October to the 12th of November. The inhabitants deſerted their cottages, but when they were aſſured by a *Lukayan*, that ſo far from having any thing to dread from the *Spaniards*, on the contrary, they would receive preſents from them, they approached in crowds. Their perſons, inclinations, mode of living, their rudeneſs and ſimplicity furniſhed evident proofs of the uniformity of the ideas and cuſtoms, in all the parts which had hitherto been diſcovered. Of what we call culture and politeneſs, there was not a ſingle trace to be found. *Columbus*, however, occupied with his own ideas, ſuppoſed that he had already found the continent of *India*, and that he was about a hundred miles diſtant from the renowned town of *Quinſay*. He

was led to ſuppoſe this on a compariſon of *Toſcanelli*'s deſcription and delineation with the ſpace he had navigated from his departure from the iſle of *Ferro*, which, according to his calculation, which was nearly correct, amounted to one thouſand one hundred and forty-two leagues. Beſides this, ſome words of the natives of *Cuba* reſembled in ſound ſeveral names of places and provinces, which he had read in *Marco Polo*; certain ſigns, according to his interpretation, meant the king of that country; he alſo ſuppoſed from other ſigns, that an account of his fleet had been given to neighbouring merchants, in conſequence of which, he was in hopes that they would ſoon appear to purchaſe his toys and trinkets, on which they ſeemed to ſet ſo high a value: Anxious to gain further accounts, he ſent *Rodrigo de Xerez*, and *Luis de Torres**, accompanied by a native

* *Luis de Torres* was a converted Jew, who underſtood the Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabian languages, and who, of courſe, was qualified to inform the ſuppoſed eaſtern nations, of the wiſh of the Spaniards to traffic with them. *Herrera*, D. 1, p. 23. T. N.

of

of *Cuba*, and another of *S. Salvador*, farther into the country, charged with particular inſtructions to the king in the name of the Spaniſh Monarch, and allowed them ſix days to return. In the mean time he cauſed the ſhips to be refitted, marked the elevation of the pole with the quadrant, and examined the depth of the river, with the nature of the ſoil on the ſhore. Fragrant groves of the richeſt verdure, filled with the melodious notes of birds, preſented themſelves in every quarter, with a variety of trees richly laden with delicious fruits. *Columbus* flattered himſelf with the hopes of finding ſeveral aromatic ſpices of the eaſt, concluding, according to his own ſettled opinion, that this delicious place could not be very far from the *Indies* or *China*, and what ſtrengthened him in this opinion was, the novelty, and ſtrange ſhape of the trees, ſhrubs and herbs, and the miſconceived anſwers of the natives, to whom he was inceſſantly putting queſtions. It was accidentally diſcovered that almoſt all the fire wood was of the maſtic tree, which exſuded an odoriferous reſin, and according

to the ſize and number of theſe trees that were ſeen, it was calculated that they would produce fifty tons of this precious gum a year, from whence a greater gain might be drawn than from the iſland of *Scio*, and other iſles of the *Archipelago*. The conveniency of the harbour, a rocky cape, which commanded it, and which was very fit for a fort, the temperature of the climate held out ſo many invitations to commerce.

XVIII. The hopes ſuggeſted by theſe conſiderations were clouded by the return and narrative of the meſſengers. They had penetrated about twelve miles into the country, where they met with a village of about fifty houſes, and a thouſand inhabitants. The houſes reſembled thoſe on the coaſt, but rather more ſpacious, and filled with a greater number of fire places. They were received with every mark of joy, entertained and looked upon as men deſcended from heaven. The principal houſe was aſſigned for their reſidence, with two ſeats or artificial benches, each of one piece, in the

the form of a four-footed animal, with ſhort legs, and the tail turned up over the back*.

After *Xerez* and *Torres* had placed themſelves upon theſe ſeats, and as many of the natives as could conveniently find room, had ſeated themſelves around them on the floor croſs-legged, the *Lukayan* delivered a ſpeech, in which he recounted wonders of the viſitants. When he had done, ſome of the inhabitants approached them, ſome of them touched them, and others kiſſed their hands and feet. Soon after the men went out, the women repeated the ſame ſcene. Some of them concealed their genitals in a net of worked cotton, the reſt of the women, as well as men, went entirely naked; nor was there any thing ſeen that diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt of the ſavages which they had hitherto ſeen. They rather ſeemed to be one and the ſame ſpecies, without any civil order or conſtitution. A

* *Ferdinand Columbus* tells us, that the eyes and ears of this animal were compoſed of ſolid gold, and ſuch ſeats were called by the natives *Duchi*. *Hiſtor. del Admir.* C. 27. p. 24. T. N.

certain diſtinction of ranks, however, was viſible, ſome ſeemed of a higher, and one like a ſovereign at their head. In the way they found many houſes, ſometimes four or five in a group, and a number of people of both ſexes; the fields were every where richly wooded, and full of plantations, where, according to what they ſaid, *Ages** a kind of vegetable root, Batatas or potatoes, maize and French beans of a darkiſh red colour were cultivated. They likewiſe ſaw fields full of *Yuca*, of the roots of which the moſt common bread on the iſlands and continent of *America*, called *Cazabi*, or, as it is now called, *Cazabe*, was made. Cotton was found in abundance in

* *Oviedo* deſcribes this fruit, which *Oldendorp* calls edible Aron (arum eſculentum) very accurately. See lib. vii. c. 3. They reſembled, ſaid he, large turnips, which were greater than the Spaniſh ones. They ſerved the natives and the negroes, at his time, as common food, either roaſted or boiled. The *Spaniards* alſo liked to eat them very well, dreſſed ſeveral ways. *Martir* alſo deſcribes them almoſt in the ſame words in his letters. They are called *Eddoes* on the Britiſh ſugar iſlands. T. N.

every

every ſtate, raw, ſpun and wove, and their nets and hammocks were compoſed of it. It was calculated that one houſe contained 500 arrobas* of this material, and that they could collect upwards of 400 cwt. † annually. They alſo ſaw a number of geeſe, ſome ſmall partridges, and many birds different from thoſe they had already ſeen, particularly one kind that reſembled the nightingale in ſize, and in the melody of its note. A remark which *Columbus* alſo made, and as it was the month of November, he relates it as rather extraordinary. Our countrymen were not leſs ſtruck with ſurprize at a cuſtom entirely new to them, when they ſaw the men traverſe the fields with fewel in their hands, with which they lighted the leaves of certain plants, which

* Arroba, a Spaniſh weight of 25 pounds.

† The immenſe quantities of cotton found on the iſles of the *New World*, on the arrival of the *Spaniards*, is mentioned with ſurprize by all the writers of that age. Amongſt others, *Ferdinand Columbus* remarks, that one of the natives of *S. Salvador* had given 400 pounds weight of ſpun cotton for three pieces of copper money. T. N.

they

they called Tabacos, (folded up in each other) at one end, and inhaled the ſmoke at the other, for which reaſon the name Tobaco was transferred to the burning herb, a native plant of that part of the globe, where it is much cultivated, and it has become highly valued by all the nations of the *Old World*. The *Spaniards*, however, at the time did not take notice even of the name *.

Their

* It appears from this account, that the *Spaniards* already obſerved the ſmoaking tobacco on their firſt voyage, and, of courſe, much earlier than has been ſuppoſed. Some writers are of opinion that *Roman Pane*, the hermit, whom *Columbus* in 1496 left behind him on the iſland of *St. Domingo*, for the purpoſe of labouring in the converſion of the inhabitants, was the firſt that made mention of this practice amongſt them. *Fernando Columbus* has inſerted the account of the reſidence of this pious man among the ſavages in his father's life, entire as he found it. But *Pane* does not mention the word Tabacos, nor yet the ſmoaking of it, at leaſt no trace of it is to be found in his confuſed narrative. It is only ſaid in one paſſage, referred to on this occaſion, that they filled *cabaſes* with a certain powder, called cogioba; they then took a pipe about half an arm in length, the one end of which they put into the powder, and the other into the noſe, and inhaled it in this manner; it had an intoxi-

XIX. Their whole aim and object were to discover cultivated countries abounding in aromatic gums, pearls, and metals, especially gold; and in *Cuba* they discovered very few traces of all these things. As often as they enquired after them, the natives pointed to the east, and with exaggerated gestures and expressions, often repeated the words *Babeque* and *Bohio*. As *Columbus* supposed himself to be in the farthest *Indies*; the conjecture was natural enough, that those names might be given to some islands famous for

intoxicating effect, and was considered as possessed of a strong purgative quality. But he says nothing of lighting the powder, or of any smoke produced by it. Perhaps the inhalation of this powder at the nose, gave birth to the fumigation of this sanative plant, for the islanders really smoaked their tobacco through their nose, as *Oviedo* has very minutely described. L. v. c. 11. They called this mode Tabaco, but not the herb itself. The pipes through which they smoaked the lighted leaves, according to this writer, were wooden ones, some of which were shaped like the letter Y, the forked end of which was suited to the nostrils. In his days the negroes already had adopted the custom of smoaking, and many *Spaniards* also, as they were of opinion that it soothed the pains of the venereal disease. T. N.

their

their treaſures, and, perhaps, *Cipango* itſelf. However, as he felt the air grow cold at night, he did not think it prudent to ſteer northward in the winter ſeaſon in purſuit of diſcoveries. He reſolved to ſail to the eaſt with ſome declination to the ſouth, and, in his way, to examine the coaſt along this direction. Having ſailed eighteen leagues, he diſcovered a cape, which he named *Cabo de Cuba*; two leagues farther from this cape he came into a bay, five leagues S. S. weſt, from whence, at the diſtance of about five leagues, he ſaw an opening betwixt two mountains, which ſeemed to be the entrance of the ſea. Driven off the coaſt, by the violence of the gales, he navigated fifty-ſix leagues to the north eaſt. He returned to the coaſt, and having ſailed along it ſixty-four leagues, he diſcovered a deep bay about a quarter of a league in breadth. He ſailed up it into a large harbour, with innumerable iſles ſprinkled round it, lying very high, without cliffs, ſeparated from each other by deep canals, covered with luxuriant graſs, and ornamented with trees of various kinds.

The

The diſtrict of *Cuba* which he had here in view, was really enchanting. The hills and vallies ſeemed to vie with each other in vegetable wealth and beauty, and to crown the whole, the atmoſphere was pure and ſerene. Delighted with the ſucceſſion of ſuch beautiful proſpects, he remained for five days in this ſea, which he called *Nueſtra Senora*. They rowed in boats between the iſles and the coaſt; and found great oyſters, which appeared to be pearl muſcles. The air was ſtrongly ſcented with muſk. Maſtic aloes, a number of lofty palms of immenſe ſize, nut-trees, and a thouſand of unknown plants diverſified the ſcene. The *Spaniards*, intent on the firſt objects of their voyage, had already calculated that a profitable commerce might be carried on in aromatic and oriental ſpices, through the medium of this commodious harbour, to which they gave the name of *Del Principe*. The waters appeared to be as prolific as the land was fertile. The ſeamen caught many kind of fiſh, and amongſt the reſt, one that reſembled a ſwine, with a hard ſhell or coat of mail, which was ſoft no where but at the

the tail and the eyes. Of birds there was a vaſt quantity. Of quadrupeds there were only ſome remarkable. Amongſt theſe one that approached the badger in likeneſs very much, and a ſpecies of large mice, like the Indian ones, which are edible. Some iſlands were diſtinguiſhed by cultivation and traces of dwellings, but the inhabitants were very few.

XX. Having erected a large crucifix on an eminence at the entrance of the port of *Del Principe*, the fleet put to ſea again on the 19th of November. The ſhifting and contrary winds compelled them to ſtand out from the coaſt, and to ſteer north north-eaſt into the open main; having ſailed five-and-twenty leagues, they found themſelves obliged to veer till the 21ſt, and at laſt to make for the haven of *Del Principe*, but they did not reach it on account of the unexpected ſeparation of the *Pinta*. *Martin Alonſo Pinzon*, the captain of this veſſel, had ſome of the natives of *S. Salvadar* aboard, and ſix others, which he had taken with him from the port of *Mares*, and from them he had received parti-

particular accounts of the ſituation and ſize of *Babeque* and *Bohio*. In order to ſecure this rich diſcovery for himſelf, ſtimulated by ſelf conceit, and reckoning upon his nautical ſkill and experience, and the goodneſs of his veſſel as a quick ſailer, he availed himſelf of this laſt advantage, and ſeparated from the reſt on the night of the 22d, without paying attention to the ſignals. *Columbus*'s veſſel was a dull ſailer, which, with the contrary winds, prevented him from following the *Pinta*, nor was he much inclined to leave a country, which held out ſo many allurements, till he had examined it with more accuracy and attention; he landed near the bay *Nuaſtra Senora*, in a harbour on the coaſt, formed by the mouth of the greateſt river he had hitherto diſcovered, where, according to his opinion, a vaſt number of ſhips could ride with the utmoſt ſecurity without anchor. He called it *Santa Catharina*, on account of his having entered it on the eve of the feſtival of that Saint. The ſhores of the river were ſhaded with umbrageous groves, the mountains were lofty, verdant, and crowned with trees,

parti-

particularly pines of an aſtoniſhing growth; the air was mild and odoriferous; they found ſtones ſpotted with gold and other metals, that bore the appearance at leaſt of ſuch ores. Chains of mountains, as lofty and as beautiful as the former, roſe along the coaſt to the ſouth eaſt. The ſea ſhores were exceedingly pleaſant, and watered with many rivers and limped ſtreams. On the 27th they diſcovered a large village, to which ſome *Spaniards* were diſpatched, to collect what information they could; a number of naked people aſſembled on the coaſt---halloing, and menacing defiance with their darts, but at the approach of the boats they ran away affrighted, and as ſoon as the villagers ſaw three men land, cloathed from head to foot, they fled their habitations with the utmoſt confuſion.

XXI. About half a mile farther they diſcovered a harbour ſuperior even to the former, with extenſive lawns on every ſide, as level as the ſea in a calm. At the foot of the loftieſt mountains, *Columbus*, wooed by the charms of this paradiſic region, tarried there

four

four or five days longer, and in his ſearch he found a conſiderable river, and an immenſe number of rivulets, cryſtaline and freſh; their banks were ornamented with waving groves, and odoriferous ſhrubs. The cedar and the palm aſpired in appearance to reign over the reſt; of the latter wood large canoes were formed, and ſome of excellent workmanſhip lay under an awning or covering of twiſted branches, which ſheltered them from the weather. One of theſe canoes peculiarly excited attention. It was ninety-five ſpans in length, and capable of containing 150 men. It was concluded that they belonged to ſome people of diſtinction in that country, which was pretty well cultivated, and rather thickly ſown with houſes and cottages, ſome ſcattered, and others collected into villages. The inhabitants deſerted ſome of them probably through fear. Through the means of one of them, which had been ſeized, a communication was opened with the inhabitants of a village near the harbour. They all went naked, painted with red, armed with darts and

lances, formed of ſticks with hard points, or canes with a little ſharp pointed ſtick hardened in the fire. Some wore feathers on their heads, but this was the only mark of diſtinction; their ornaments and weapons went no farther; they readily parted with thoſe arms, plumes, and all they had in the world for glaſs beads, little bells, braſs rings, and pieces of biſcuit; for they laid an inеſtimable value on every trifle they received from the *Spaniards*; and, it ſeems, they entertained the ſame opinion with the *Lucayens*, that theſe foreigners had deſcended from heaven, eſpecially when they found that they were treated by them with benevolence and kindneſs, which virtues were ſtrongly inculcated by the Admiral to his countrymen. One houſe was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, as it was larger. The inſide particularly was divided by artificial partitions, and the roof or ceiling was ornamented with muſcle ſhells, and ſeveral other things. At firſt it was ſuppoſed that it might be the temple of ſome Idol, but this was refuted by the anſwers of the natives, and their readineſs in pulling down and offering every thing to

Columbus

Columbus that they thought would pleaſe him. They likewiſe preſented, ſays the Admiral, gold, and whatever precious things they had beſides. And although he did not find any thing that would bear eſtimation in *Europe*, yet he hoped to meet ſomething of that kind in the interior of the country. He was ſtrengthened in this opinion, when he alighted on a piece of wax, which, in his judgment, could be only made uſe of by nations verſed in manufactures; but in the courſe of time, and after the diſcovery of the continent, it appeared that ſome wax, unknown to the iſlanders, could only have been brought by chance to them from the next peninſula of *Yucatan*.

XXII. Our Argonauts fell at every ſtep into freſh errors, becauſe they, without knowing where they were, and without underſtanding the natives, drew inferences from uncertain and vague accounts. As the hope of diſcovering rich countries towards the eaſt was encreaſed by every new mark which their imagination had laid down as ſuch, they left the harbour of *Puerto Santo*,

with the firſt favourable wind, in order to ſteer along the coaſt to eaſt ſouth-eaſt. They had ſcarce been under ſail a day, when they came to a large river, the mouth of which was a hundred paces in breadth, eight fathoms in depth, and the entrance very ſafe and eaſy. In all probability it was the harbour of *Baracoa*. The following day they ſaw a cape to the eaſt, behind which the coaſt inclined to the ſouth, and afterwards to ſouth-weſt; this was cape *Mayci*, the eaſtern point of the iſland. Here *Columbus*, according to his fixed opinion, imagined he had found, over againſt the coaſt of *Portugal*, (the utmoſt limit of *Europe*) the moſt eaſtern part of the continent of Aſia, and for this reaſon he called theſe imaginary limits Alpha and Omega, i. e. the beginning and the end, to ſignify the diſtrict where the continent began towards the weſt. He afterwards changed this opinion, however, as appears from his narrative, after his return from the voyage, in which he ſays that *Cuba* was an iſland larger than *England* and *Scotland* together, as the northern coaſt

of

of it extended in a right line from weſt to eaſt upwards of two hundred leagues, of which he had ſailed almoſt the one half, and left only two provinces to be examined, each from 50 to 60 leagues in length. He had collected, he ſaid, this from the accounts of the natives who had accompanied him, and who were acquainted with this Archipelagus. From theſe circumſtances I am at a loſs to know which is the more worthy of my admiration, the reſult which approached ſo nearly to the truth, though founded on ſuch fallible calculations, or the courage of thoſe iſlanders who could venture to ſail in the hollow trunk of a tree through ſuch large ſpaces of ocean. Their dexterity in calculating them, the art and inventive mode in which they rendered themſelves intelligible, as alſo the genius and attentive diligence of *Columbus*, who, in the intercourſe of a few months, knew how to derive ſo many advantages from ſuch rude ſavages. Their relations, it is true, were blended with abſurdities or led through miſconception into error, eſpecially at the beginning; hence the fable of men in the province of *Nahan*, (one of

the two provinces not yet explored) born with tails; hence alſo the illuſion with reſpect to the rich country of *Babeque*, which never has appeared. At firſt they localized it in the eaſt, and when they came to the end of *Cuba* in the north-eaſt,

XXIII. As *Columbus* was about to ſearch for it, fortunately he went a little to the eaſt, and looking every where attentively around him, he eſpied, to the ſouth-eaſt, a large country, at the diſtance of about ſixteen leagues from the utmoſt point of *Cuba*. He ſteered with the more impatience to it, in proportion as the iſlanders he had on board, particularly thoſe of *Cuba*, ſtrove to diſſuade him from it, by the repetition of the word *Bohio! Bohio!* a name by which they had often ſignified a marvellous iſland abounding in gold, and which they now repeated with exaggerated geſtures; but they deſcribed the inhabitants hideous monſters, and man-eaters. *Columbus* interpreted this ſo, that there might be men of more bodily ſtrength, ſenſe, and mental cultivation, who, perhaps, waged war with the inhabi-

inhabitants of the other iſles, who were unarmed, timorous, and cowards, and of courſe made them their ſlaves. This opinion, their prodigious wealth, and the ſuppoſition that their country was the eaſtern coaſt of the *Indies*, induced him to conclude that this was the rich *Cipango*. In the courſe of a few hours the ſhips reached the cape, which is next to the point of *Cuba*; *Columbus* diſcovered a harbour, and ordered *Vicente Yanez* to ſail before with the *Nina* to examine it; this happened on the evening of the 5th of December. The following morning he hoped to enter himſelf with his heavy ſhip. At the diſtance of four leagues, he diſcovered ſeveral capes and bays on the northern coaſt, which extended to the eaſt, where its end was not yet ſeen. The land, which roſe very high above the ſurface of the ſea, exhibited verdant grounds betwixt the high mountains, moſtly cultivated like the fields of *Cordova* in the month of May. The harbour ſeemed to excel all that he had met with in his voyage. A number of canoes appeared in view, ſome of them like gallies, or barks, of ſeventeen benches for rowers.

The ſhore was beautified with trees of various kinds, weighed down with fruits. As they advanced a little into the country, the ground became pictureſque and charming, watered by a gentle rivulet. All theſe delicious views promiſed a numerous population, though one houſe only was ſeen, but not one inhabitant. The harbour, as well as the cape, were called *S. Nicolas*, after the natal day of that Saint.

XXIV. *Columbus* now ſteered eaſtward along the coaſt, till he came to a harbour, with an iſland in the front of it. They named this iſland, from its ſhape, *Tortuga (Tortoiſe;)* doubtleſs it was the harbour of *St. Domingo*, afterwards called *Moſquitos*; *Columbus* gave it the name of *de la Conception*, when he took ſhelter in it on the 8th of December, from a tempeſt, the eruption of which he anticipated, and which compelled him to remain there for ſome days. In his courſe from the harbour of *St. Nicolas*, he perceived trees like ſcarlet oaks, and ſeveral fruit trees reſembling thoſe of Europe, afterwards pines and myrtles. The ſown fields, at a diſtance, looked

looked like wheat and barley; they heard the notes of ſeveral birds, eſpecially one that reſembled the nightingale. They caught ſeveral groundlings, pollards, and other fiſh frequent in our ſeas. The proſpects, the ſize, and beauty of this country bore ſuch a reſemblance to thoſe of *Spain*, that *Columbus* called this iſland *Eſpanola*, as well on account of that reſemblance, as out of reſpect to the nation for whoſe ſake the expedition was undertaken. The natives and the neighbouring iſlanders uſed to give it many names, in conſequence of its nature, ſituation, or from certain provinces. *Hayti*, or High Country, on account of the eminence of the ſoil; *Quiſqueya*, or the whole, on account of the amplitude of its extent; *Bohio*, or the Houſe, which perhaps was an alluſion to the number, ſpaciouſneſs, and artificial architecture of the habitations. The beſt habitations on this iſland at this day, are called *Bohios*, though they ſcarce rival the cottages of the peaſants in *Spain*. They are formed of light wood-work, covered with branches and ſhrubs interwove; others are called *Boharques*, compoſed of piles of wood inſerted

in

in the earth, and joined at the top in a conical form, or the ſhape of a tent. The former were very numerous on the iſland of *Eſpanola*, and the latter not uncommon; and it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that the names of them ſhould be frequently heard in the anſwers of the iſlanders, and alſo that they ſounded to the ears of an European like *Babeque*, and thereby occaſioned the *Spaniards* to take it for the name of a celebrated country. Likewiſe the words *Carib*, and *Caniba*, by which the gentle and diſmayed inhabitants of the firſt diſcovered iſles, ſignified certain iſles inhabited by a warlike and cruel race, were miſtaken as ſo many appellations of the ſame country, under the dominion of the great *Kan*, whoſe ſubjects cruiſed, as it was ſuppoſed, amongſt thoſe iſlands. Thus *Columbus* raiſed the pile of his ſuppoſitions, which he had founded on certain ideas, ſtill higher and higher; the picture which his imagination drew of the excellence of this country, was ſtill heightened by the report of thoſe whom he had ſent to view it. They deſcribed it as a happy and fertile region, the ſeaſon like ſpring, the trees in all the bloom of ſummer,

and

and the fruit ſwelling in all the luxuriancy of autumn; the graſs fine and rich, enamelled with flowers of every kind. Some cottages, ſeveral places where fire had been, the roads and plantations left no doubt but that there might be inhabitants enough, but none of them was ſeen till the 12th of December.

XXV. On the ſame day, after a crucifix had been erected on a prominent point, as uſual, three of the crew, in paſſing over a mountain, unexpectedly eſpied a group of naked people, who fled in a hurry at the ſight of them. They only caught a young well-ſhaped woman, who wore a little plate of gold in her noſe. *Columbus* cauſed her to be dreſſed, and gave her glaſs beads, braſs rings, and after having treated her kindly, diſmiſſed her, well pleaſed, and accompanied by three of the iſlanders and ſome *Spaniards*, to her own place of abode, which ſhe noted by pointing to the ſouth-eaſt of the harbour, in order to allure the inhabitants of her place. The meſſengers came back late at night, without having executed their commiſſion,

for

for which they apologized, as the way was very long. On the following morning, nine armed *Spaniards*, with an iſlander, were ſent off from *S. Salvador*, who, after a journey of near four miles, found a place filled with about 4000 inhabitants, ſituated in a ſpacious fertile valley. At the appearance of our countrymen, they all ran away. The iſlanders called out to them not to be afraid, for thoſe foreigners came from Heaven, and inſtead of hurting any perſon, they would give thoſe that came to them many fine things. On hearing this, they began to diſmiſs their fear, and by degrees they approached all together. Their fear was ſucceeded by admiration, reſpect and ſubmiſſion, and each of them freely offered whatever he poſſeſſed, fruits, roots, parrots and fiſh. A troop of them raiſed the young woman that had been dreſt, on their ſhoulders, and ſounded forth her happineſs, as it were, and bleſſed her for the honour ſhe had received. They were ſo well pleaſed with their heavenly gueſts, that when they ſaw them prepared to return to the harbour, ſorrow and dejection were painted in their looks.

looks. The *Spaniards* were highly pleaſed with the kindneſs, ſimplicity, and open-heartedneſs of theſe people. They repreſented them better than the former; they were of a fairer colour, and handſomer ſhape; particularly two females, who might have been miſtaken for *Spaniſh* women. The grounds and cultured fields excelled, in their opinion, even thoſe of *Cordova*. They found a number of maſtic trees, aloe, plantations of cotton-ſhrubs, but very few traces of gold.

XXVI. The day following, which was the 14th, *Columbus* left the harbour to view *Tortuga*, a little iſle, which extended from eaſt to weſt about five leagues; the ground was very high, but not mountainous, cultivated, and inhabited throughout. He intended to ſteer to the eaſt, but was compelled by contrary winds to return to the harbour. On the 15th, he ſailed out again, and was obliged, on account of the winds, to caſt anchor a little farther on the coaſt, not far from a river, which he rowed up for ſome diſtance. He called it *Guadalquivir*, from

from the ſimilitude which it bore to a *Spaniſh* river of that name. He diſcovered ſome houſes, and inhabitants running away. A little up the valley, on both ſides of the river, the proſpect was ſo delightful, that it might well be called the name which he gave it, *Val Paraiſo*, (the Vale of Paradiſe.) On the 16th, he caſt anchor near a village, at the mouth of a gut, formed by *Tortuga* with *Eſpanola*. Whilſt he ſailed through it with a ſtrong wind and high tide, he took one of the natives aboard, who rode on the top of the higheſt wave with his little canoe. Won by gifts and careſſes, he repreſented the *Spaniards* in ſuch an amiable light, that the inhabitants of both ſexes came immediately to them in great numbers. The uſual traffic began, with more advantage on the part of our people than heretofore; for here they found a greater ſtore of gold, partly in grain, and partly worked in plates. This metal was hung to their ears and noſe, as ornaments, and yet they freely parted with it, for any trifle whatever. Some of them, it is true, were found to be cunning enough to conſult their own intereſt in the exchange of commodities; they divided a leaf of gold, as broad

broad as the hand, into little pieces, and bartered each ſingly; but moſt of them offered their gold without accepting any thing for it; as well as their gourd bottles, filled with water or food, without accepting any thing in return for them. The Admiral was ſo pleaſed with the generoſity of ſome, and the craft of others, that in order to ſatisfy all, he ordered a number of glaſs beads to be diſtributed amongſt them. Among the number of thoſe that came running along, he diſtinguiſhed the head or chief of the place, a young man about twenty-one years of age, naked like the reſt, but very ſerious and ſober. Some trinkets were offered to him as a preſent, which he received with the greateſt reſpect from the hand of the *Alguazil Mayor*, and in return, offered whatever his country afforded. Through the medium of an iſlander, he was informed, that the *Spaniards* came from Heaven, in purſuit of gold, and that they wiſhed to go into any country where it could be found in abundance. He pointed to one, which, he ſaid, was diſtant two days journey, and which the *Spaniards* took to be *Babeque*.

XXVII.

XXVII. This converſation was interrupted by the arrival of a canoe, with 40 perſons, from the iſle of *Tortuga*. When the lord, juſt mentioned, ſaw that a barter began betwixt the *Spaniards* and thoſe that had juſt come aſhore, he began to be angry, and drove them to their boat again, and they were glad to make their eſcape, out of the reach of a volley of ſtones and water. The commerce began afreſh, as the ſhips were detained by the eaſt winds, common in that quarter; ſome *Spaniards* got on ſhore to examine the country. The rumour of the arrival of thoſe extraordinary people was diffuſed, and the inhabitants of other places came to the landing place. A prince of high diſtinction appeared, followed by more than two hundred men; he went with ſome of his train aboard the chief veſſel; he brought a girdle as a preſent, much like thoſe that were worn at the time in *Spain*, but wrought in quite a different manner, together with two plates of gold. He left his attendants on deck, and deſcended with only two of the eldeſt of them into the cabin, juſt as the Admiral was at dinner; he ſat down with a ſerious

ſerious air by his ſide, and uttered ſeveral words in a very grave tone. The two men who lay at his feet, ſpoke a few words alſo, and looked one time at his mouth, and then at the *Spaniards*. *Columbus* ordered ſeveral viands, and ſome liquors to be preſented to him, but he taſted only a little of each, and ſent them to his people, who ate of all. After this, the ſtandard of the expedition, the colours with the royal arms, and the portraits of the royal family on a gold coin, were ſhewn him. At the ſight of all theſe things, he and his two attendants evinced, by geſticulations and ſigns, much admiration, and an exalted opinion of the *Spaniſh* nation. Aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, the three ſavages ſometimes ſpoke among themſelves, and ſometimes to the *Spaniards*. The prince was preſented with a carpet, yellow amber beads, red ſhoes, and a bottle of orange eſſence, with which he ſeemed to be highly pleaſed. The *Cazique* returned home, borne on a kind of frame, or palanquin, and accompanied by a numerous train; his ſon followed at ſome diſtance, carried in the ſame manner; his brother

followed on foot, conducted by two perſons of diſtinction, leaning on each of their arms. The preſents given to the prince were carried before him, and each preſent was carried by a ſingle perſon.

XXVIII. *Columbus* was highly pleaſed with the conduct of the inhabitants of this place; he deſcribed them as fairer, handſomer, and better ſhaped than the reſt of the ſavages; mild, obliging, agreeable in converſation, and without any trace of ſuperſtition. He looked on them already as vaſſals of the crown of *Spain*, and not very far from being gathered into the pale of the chriſtian church. He conſidered the alacrity which they evinced in aſſiſting to erect a crucifix in a conſpicuous public place, as a happy omen, and eſpecially as they ſeemed to imitate the devotions of the *Spaniards* in their religious ceremonies. On this account, he endeavoured by every means to inſure their confidence, and heſitated to take an old man with him, for the purpoſe of ſhewing him the countries where gold was to be found, and artiſts able to melt and fabricate it.

XXIX.

XXIX. On the night of the 19th he ſet ſail again, but the wind was ſo contrary that he could only make ſix leagues till he came to anchorage in *Luiſa*, or the Harbour of *Acul*. *Columbus* called it *Saint Thomas*, in honour of the anniverſary of that Saint, which was the day he viewed it. Nature was ſo indulgent to it, that he was filled with rapture and ſurprize at the ſight. He ſpeaks of it with all the enthuſiaſm of a youthful poet, as well as of the environs that diſplayed themſelves before him. "There appeared, ſaid he, on thoſe well-cultivated and populous fields, ſuch a crowd of people, that the ground was hid by men, women, and children, who expreſſed their joy in every poſſible manner; they ran to and fro to convey bread of *Yom roots*, (which they called Ages) and water, and in a word every thing they had or ſaw, that the chriſtians ſeemed to ſtand in need of; and all this was done with ſuch ſpontaneity and ſatisfaction, that it called forth every ſenſation of admiration and gratitude." The women, inſtead of hiding themſelves, as they did in other places, were the firſt who came and brought

fruits of five and ſix different ſorts. During the time that the ſhips lay at anchor in this place, a continued ſucceſſion of people came, and amongſt the reſt, five princes, with their families and different attendants. Convinced that the *Spaniards* were men of heavenly deſcent, they thought themſelves happy to behold them. Preſents were brought by all, and many other things promiſed, if they would condeſcend to viſit their villages. In fact, ſix *Spaniards* accepted of the invitation, and met with a more friendly reception, if poſſible, than they had expected; each of the inhabitants brought the moſt precious thing he had in his houſe; ſeveral pieces of manufactured cotton, parrots, fatted geeſe, and little pieces of gold. On their return, they were followed by crowds, ſome of whom loaded them with gifts, and others preſſed them to take as much as they were able to carry; they alſo flocked in great numbers to the ſhips, ſome ſwimming, but the moſt part in canoes, and the inſtant they got aboard, they laid their preſents at the feet of the *Spaniards*, in order to inſure a welcome reception; they offered bread and fiſh,

and

and water in little earthen veſſels, painted red, into which they put a grain of certain ſeeds like ſpices, and drank of it. They repreſented this beverage, thus qualified, as exceedingly wholeſome. This ſeems to be the firſt account of the *Agi*, or Indian peper, as alſo of the earthen drinking veſſels, inſtead of gourd bottles. There were indubitable marks of much gold in this place, and every appearance that it had been ſought after by the inhabitants of other countries, who had collected it out of the rivers and rivulets which flowed from the high mountains; very rich mines of this metal were ſaid to exiſt in a certain province, called *Cibao*. Theſe accounts, and the preſents of gold plates, by no means inconſiderable, gave *Columbus* more real pleaſure than the ſimilitude of the words *Cibao* and *Cipango* in ſound; they filled him with ſuch extacy that he broke out into this exclamation: "Our heavenly Lord, who has all things in his hands, be my help, and give me according to his pleaſure." As he was apprehenſive that the court would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the diſcovery of coun-

tries pregnant with gold, he languiſhed to alight on ſuch, in order to gratify their wiſh, and to perform his own promiſe.

XXX. To attain theſe two objects, he waited with the utmoſt anxiety for a favourable wind to ſet ſail for theſe countries. In the interval, an ambaſſador of *Guacanagari*, a conſiderable *Cazique*, or petty king of that country, arrived in a large canoe, accompanied with a number of attendants, who requeſted the Admiral to come with his ſhips to his ſhore, and he would give him whatever he wanted. He preſented *Columbus* with a girdle, four fingers in breadth, trimmed with white bones like pearls, interſperſed with red beads; and a maſk, with the ears, tongue, and noſe, of gold. It was no eaſy matter to underſtand the meſſage, particularly the meaning of the word *Cazique*, which ſignifies lord or maſter over the reſt. *Columbus* was highly gratified with the preſents and the politeneſs of *Guacanagari*; he ſaid, he ſhould be happy to have it in his power to wait upon him immediately, but time would not permit him to enjoy that pleaſure; and of this he informed him

him by his own ſecretary, whom he ſent to him with ſome other *Spaniards*. This prince reſided on the other ſide of a river beyond *Cape François*, which was then called *Saint Point*, and ſurpaſſed all thoſe that had hitherto been ſeen, on account of the number of habitations as well as the progreſs in architecture, the regularity of the ſtreets, and a neat, clean, and elegant ſquare. The *Spaniards* were received with great joy and cordiality; men, women, and children aſſembled in crowds to ſee and admire them. From the humbleſt individual to the *Cazique* himſelf, their was a viſible emulation to wait upon and ſerve their heaven-deſcended gueſts, with the beſt things their houſes could afford, in viands as well as cotton cloths, parrots, and pieces of gold. He that received a trifle in return, placed an ineſtimable value on it. The meſſengers returned the ſame day, the 23d of December, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of the natives, who preſſed them by every art that native eloquence could ſuggeſt, to favour them a little longer with their preſence,

which threw them into a kind of ſweet delirium.

XXXI. On the following morning, the ſquadron bent their ſails for the eaſt, with a weak land wind; in a ſhort time they were entirely becalmed, ſo that they ſcarcely advanced three leagues the whole day. About ſeven o'clock at night, as the veſſels were veering off a point of land, the ſea being entirely unruffled, the Admiral, who had not ſlept for the laſt two days, threw himſelf down on the bed; the crew did the ſame, as well as the ſteerſman at the helm, and who, contrary to an expreſs order, had committed it to the hands of an inexperienced ſhip-boy. In the lapſe of an hour, the ſhip, drifted by the tide, ſtruck on a ſand bank. The cries of the boy awakened *Columbus*, who ſpeedily ordered an anchor to be caſt a-ſtern. The ſhip's maſter and a number of mariners, inſtead of obeying this command, ſprung into the long boat, and haſtened to the *Nina*, which was half a league diſtant. The Admiral ſoon found the ſhip was filled with water, and forced by the current on one ſide,

ſide, ſo that all hopes of ſaving her were given over, notwithſtanding her being lighted and her maſt cut down. Fortunately the calm continued, and captain *Vicente Yanez*, acting up to his duty, obliged the diſobedient hands to return immediately to the aid of the Admiral; and immediately ſent him his own bark, and ſo *Columbus* and the whole crew were ſaved.

XXXII. On the 25th, at the break of day, the crew began to carry every thing on ſhore out of the ſhip, which was effected with admirable diſpatch; a number of the natives, at the command of *Guacanagari*, came and aſſiſted with their canoes. *Columbus* had informed this prince, by the Alguacil Major, and *Pedro Gutierez*, royal yeoman of the jewel-office, that juſt as he was about to pay him a viſit, his veſſel was wrecked within a league and a half of his reſidence. The generous *Cazique*, filled with grief and compaſſion at the recital of this misfortune, omitted no friendly exertion to comfort and aſſiſt the *Spaniards*; not content with the ſpontaneous zeal of his ſubjects, he perſonally attended, and took care

care of the good order and ſecurity of every thing conveyed on ſhore. As ſoon as it was ſufficiently light, he ordered all the goods to be put in a proper place near the village, and entruſted them to the care of an armed body of men, who were to watch over them the whole night; after which they were placed in two large cottages, evacuated for that purpoſe. The *Cazique* was ſo much affected at *Columbus*'s diſaſter that he ſhed tears; he ſent one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his vaſſals, who endeavoured, with tears in his eyes, to conſole the Admiral with liberal preſents, and the ſincereſt demonſtrations of friendſhip.

XXXIII. On the following day he paid *Columbus* a viſit himſelf, and repeated his promiſes and friendly offers in the moſt expreſſive manner. At the ſame time, ſome canoes, filled with inhabitants from other places, came for the common exchange of gold duſt for *Spaniſh* commodities; a ſeaman alſo brought advice that a ſimilar commerce had taken place on the ſhore, and that the *Spaniards* had profited conſiderably by it. This

This intelligence began to diſſipate the gloom which hung over the face of the Admiral. *Guacanagari* perceived the ſudden tranſition, and gueſſing the cauſe of it, inſtantly informed him that this metal was found in abundance in *Cibao*, which lay at no great diſtance; that he would procure him plenty of it if he would accompany him to his habitation. *Columbus* accepted the invitation, as well to chear his ſpirits, as to examine the nature and richneſs of the country of *Cibao*, a word that ſounded ſweetly in his ear, and warmed his imagination. The complaiſant and hoſpitable reception of the inhabitants ſoon effaced the impreſſion of all the hardſhips and dangers which he had experienced at ſea; nay, even the loſs of his ſhip itſelf, which he now began to conſider as a favourable accident. The *Cazique* treated him with veniſon, fiſh, and other food, tarts of Cazabé, and ſeveral roots and delicious fruits. He ate very ſparingly, ſoberly, and cleanly; and after he had finiſhed his repaſt, he waſhed his hands, which he had previouſly rubbed with certain herbs; after which he conducted the Admiral into winding arbours

and

and fragrant groves. On their return from this enchanting promenade, he preſented his gueſt with a maſk, with pieces of fine gold ſuſpended from the ears, eyes, noſe, and other parts. The neck was ornamented with a number of pieces of the ſame metal; he alſo diſtributed a number of ſuch precious toys amongſt the *Spaniards* who had accompanied their leader. *Columbus*, in grateful return, preſented a number of *European* trinkets, which the iſlanders valued as ſomething divine, and which they repeatedly ſhewed about, repeating in a kind of tranſport the word *Turey*, which, in their language, ſignifies Heaven. They believed themſelves capable of diſcerning the moſt pure gold by the ſmell, from the inferior kind which they called guanin, and when they received ſome pieces of braſs, ſilver, or any white metal, they ſmelled to them, and declared them to be *Tarey* of ineſtimable value, and gave pieces of *Guanin* to them as well as the fineſt gold. They were chiefly captivated with bells, for which they readily gave all that they poſſeſſed; they danced and leaped to the ſound of them in a groteſque manner; though

though they did not deſpiſe any thing that came from the hands of our countrymen, whom they reverently worſhipped. A little latchet, the head of a nail, were valued by them as the moſt precious gifts. The *Caziqua* was not leſs rejoiced and tranſported at the preſent of a ſhirt and a pair of gloves than the reſt of the people.

XXXIV. Such demonſtrations of ſimple honeſty, friendſhip, and hoſpitality, the amenity of the clime, the fertility of the ſoil, and above all, the hopes of enriching themſelves in a ſhort time with gold that was ſo eaſily to be procured, rendered the great inconvenience of returning to *Spain* altogether in the ſame caravel rather welcome and agreeable, ſo that many offered, many even ſolicited to be permitted to ſtay there amongſt the natives, and to become the firſt coloniſts. *Columbus* complied with their wiſhes and requeſts, and promiſed himſelf much influence from this eſtabliſhment at court, and a greater certainty of executing the great plan which he had in view, of aggrandizing the ſtate, and propagating the chriſtian

chriſtian religion. Under this impreſſion, he wrote theſe words in a letter to the King and Queen: "I hope to God Almighty, that after my return to *Spain*, I ſhall find a ton of gold gained by exchange, the gold and ſpice mine diſcovered, and ſuch abundance of it, that before the expiration of three years, the conqueſt of *Jeruſalem* may be undertaken, for which purpoſe, the profits of my enterprize, as I did proteſt to your highneſs, ſhall be employed." Neither the extent of the iſland, which he looked on to be larger than *Portugal*, nor the number of its inhabitants deterred him from his deſign. For even ſuppoſing that the timorous unarmed natives ſhould loſe the firſt impreſſion of reſpect to their ſuppoſed heavenly viſitants, and conſpire to their deſtruction, yet a few *Spaniards* thought themſelves able and ſufficient to ſubdue them.

XXXV. This reſolution was ſtrengthened by freſh demonſtrations of the friendſhip of the *Cazique Guacanagari*. On the morning of the 27th, he paid another viſit to the Admiral on board the caravel, and converſed with him

him till after dinner. He watched every opportunity of conſoling and careſſing him, promiſed to cover him entirely with gold before his departure, but urgently requeſted him at the ſame time to ſtop with him, and to favour him with the pleaſure of his company. A ſubordinate motive of this entreaty was, perhaps, the fears with which the natives were filled from the *Caribs* of the other iſles, and the deſire of ſeeing them deſtroyed by our people. *Columbus* endeavoured to fan theſe hopes by informing the *Cazique*, that he had determined to leave part of his men on the iſland, as auxilaries, till he returned from *Spain* in a ſhort time with a greater force, and many precious articles as preſents. In order to impreſs the more deeply the idea of the ſuperior force of the *Spaniards* on the minds of the natives, and to encreaſe their love and fear for the *Spaniſh* colony, he formed ſeveral ſham fights, and combats with every kind of *European* weapons, which had the deſired effect. The claſhing of the ſwords, the ſhooting of bows, the diſcharge of muſkets, and above all, the thunder of the cannon,

cannon, and the force of a ball, which penetrated the ſide of the ſtranded veſſel, excited terror and aſtoniſhment in the breaſts of thoſe ſimple iſlanders, who fell altogether on the ground at the report of a cannon. All theſe circumſtances induced him to relinquiſh all ideas of a fortreſs. To diſplay, however, the ſuperior genius of their gueſts, and to provide for the moſt perfect ſecurity of the colony, he cauſed a wooden tower, with a foſſé round it, to be erected. The *Spaniards* were ſo actively employed in the erection of this work, in which they were aided by the *Hayties*, at the command of *Guacanagari*, that it was almoſt entirely completed in a few days. The wreck of the ſhip compoſed the chief materials of it. He called this tower, or fort, *Navidad*, which name he alſo gave to the harbour and the vicinity, in honour of Chriſtmas day, the day on which the crew had landed and eſcaped the danger of the ſea.

XXXVI. In the mean time the captain loſt no opportunity of drawing the ties of friendſhip ſtill cloſer betwixt the *Cazique* and

and himſelf, and of winning the favour of his principal vaſſals, amongſt whom he diſtributed ſeveral garments, and other gifts. He alſo continued to avail himſelf of their fears by the exerciſe of arms. On their part they continued to make preſents of gold plate, and to entertain their new viſitants, according to their manner, with great ſplendor. The firſt houſe in the village, with ſome others, was ſet apart for the entertainment of the *Spaniards*. They ſpread out mats of *Yaguas*, or webs of palm filaments, by way of carpets, with low backed chairs, made of a kind of black and ſhining wood like agat. As often as *Columbus* landed in his bark, a brother of the *Cazique* uſually went to meet him, led him to the moſt honourable ſeat, and informed his brother of his arrival. Or the *Cazique*, who generally appeared in company of other Lords, immediately came to the ſhore himſelf; thus he appeared on the 30th of December in great ſplendor, with a crown of gold on his head, encircled by five *Caziques* of inferior rank, who probably had but juſt arrived, and each with a golden crown.

He uſhered him by the arm into the houſe already mentioned, and having conducted him to his ſeat, after many reſpectful ceremonies, he took the crown off his head, and placed it on that of his highly reſpected gueſt. In requital, *Columbus* threw a cloak around him, bound a ſtring of various coloured glaſs beads round his neck, put a ſilver ring on his finger, and ordered half boots to be drawn on his legs, a finery of immenſe value in the eye of the prince.

XXXVII. During theſe feaſts he did not omit to enquire diligently after the gold mines, which was however of little uſe, as his queſtions, and their anſwers, were not underſtood. Among ſome names of the *Caziques* and provinces, where, according to their repreſentation, they would be found in abundance, he always heard the word *Cibao*, which raiſed the idea in him of its being the oriental *Cipango*; from whence it came, that he cauſed the plants to be accurately examined, in order to find the precious ſpices of the *Indies*; that he preferred

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the *Agi*, or red peper, to the *Malagete* *, or fine black peper, and that he gave ſuch eaſy credit to *Vicente Yanez*, who pretended to have found the rhubarb plant. He would fain have ſtaid longer, to make cloſer examinations, to croſs the coaſts of *Eſpanola*, and other iſlands, and to collect a ton of gold in the way, which he hoped to acquire eaſily by traffic; but he wiſely moderated his wiſhes, as he was now reduced to one ſhip, and was in danger of not being able

* *Malagete*, or grains of Paradiſe, is the name of a piquant peper-like ſpice, which the *Portugueſe* found among the negroes on their firſt navigation to *Africa*, and which they miſtook for oriental peper, from which one part of *Guinea* at this day is called the *Peper Coaſt* or *Malagete*. According to *Rui de Pina*, *Chronica del' Ruy Ioaõ II.* in *Collec de livros ineditos de hiſtoria Portugueſa*, &c. Vol. II. p. 74, this king ſent the *Guinea* peper to *Flanders*, and other maritime countries, in order to know whether it was the true oriental ſort. After the diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies*, and eſpecially when the *Portugueſe* monarchs declared the peper trade to be a monopoly of the crown, the exportation of the grains of Paradiſe was prohibited, and at preſent they are no longer an article of trade; but in the days of *Columbus* they were in general uſe in *Portugal* and *Spain*. T. N.

to carry the account of his fortunate diſcovery to *Europe*, if he ſhould meet with ſuch another accident as that which had juſt befallen him. He was alſo apprehenſive that *Martin Alonſo* was loſt, for though he had been aſſured by ſeveral iſlanders that they had ſeen him on a river, towards the eaſt, yet he entertained doubts of meeting him again, as a ſeaman whom he had ſent in queſt of him, with a letter to bring him back, with every perſuaſion that he could add, returned with information, that he had not diſcovered the leaſt trace of him for twenty leagues. And ſuppoſed he had arrived in *Spain*, *Columbus* was apprehenſive he would diſſeminate falſehoods, as an apology for the baſeneſs of his conduct, the cauſe of the loſs of ſo many goods. He reſolved therefore, without loſs of time, for the ſake of his honour, to depart without delay, in order to communicate to the whole world the joys and benefits which the divine bounty had beſtowed upon him during his firſt expedition.

XXXVIII. Whilſt the caravel was fitting out, and provided with ſtores of wood, water, cazabé,

cazabé, ages, ſalt-fiſh, veniſon, and other proviſions, which the *Cazique* liberally ſupplied, he took care of every thing that was neceſſary for the ſettlement of the infant colony. He choſe for the firſt coloniſts thirty-nine perſons, moſt of them volunteers, and ſuch as were beſt calculated to endure hardſhips, among whom there were ſeveral handy-crafts, viz. a ſhip-carpenter, cooper, artilleriſt, and a taylor, with a ſurgeon. He appointed *Diego de Arana* captain or governor over the whole, and *Pedro Gutierrez* his lieutenant and ſucceſſor, after his death; and in caſe of the demiſe of the latter, the office was to devolve to *Rodrigo de Eſcobedo*. He left them the long boat, the arms and ammunition of the main ſhip, great ſtore of wine, biſcuit, and all that could be ſpared of European proviſions, and alſo all that remained of wares and trinkets, in order that they might exchange them for gold. He commanded them very ſtrongly to continue ſailing along the coaſt, in order to find out a more convenient place of plantation and trade, becauſe he was not ſatisfied with that harbour, now called *Cape Francois*,

or *Guarico*, on account of the number of ſand-banks and ſhallows with which it abounded, and which rendered the ſailing in and out rather difficult. He deſired them to ſow European ſeeds, examine the origin of the gold, learn the language of the natives, cultivate their friendſhip, and endeavour to become acquainted with all the metals and ſpices of the country. He enjoined them by every tie of ſacred duty to pay due obedience to the captain or governor, and above all things, to live together in the utmoſt harmony and friendſhip, not by any means to part from each other, or to venture into unknown countries out of the dominions of *Guacanagari*, the continuance of whoſe friendſhip might be eaſily ſecured by kind and gentle behaviour; to avoid giving any offence to his people, particularly the women, but by due moderation and decency to keep this ſimple nation in that harmleſs illuſion, by which it would continue to believe them half Gods. He admoniſhed them to behave like true Chriſtians, to be thankful to Almighty God for the bleſſings they had received, as ſo many

earneſts

earneſts of future favour, if they deſerved it. He repreſented to their conſiderations the many hardſhips they had ſuffered during their voyage, the inexpreſſible joy they felt at the ſight of the firſt iſland, the brilliant proſpects opened to them by the diſcoveries they had already made, and the indiſpenſible neceſſity of facing with firmneſs every adverſity; great objects were only to be obtained at the price of arduous labour and trouble. Finally he aſſured them, that he would inceſſantly feel the warmeſt concern for them, and ſhould not reſt till he ſaw them again, and that he would bring them whatever they might want, with diſtinguiſhed rewards, which he thought he might certainly promiſe them from their Majeſties. They all ſhewed the utmoſt willingneſs and unanimity to act conformably to his admonitions; the farewell ſcene was truly affectionate and tender, the noble *Cazique* participated of it, but he was very much conſoled and pleaſed with the ſettlement of the *Spaniards* in his dominions.

BOOK IV.

I. COLUMBUS left the port of *Navidad* on the 4th of January, 1493, ſailing along the coaſt to the eaſt, charmed with the beauty of the ſhore, which was quite flat for four miles into the country, and thronged with villages, which warmed his imagination afreſh with the opinion that this iſland muſt be the *Cipango* delineated on the chart of *Toſcanelli*. On the following day he paſſed a conſiderable hill, which riſes at the extremity of a peninſula, about eighteen leagues off *Cabo Santo*, in the form of a corn ſtack or round tent. He gave it the name of *Monte Chriſti*, which it bears at this day, though it is likewiſe called *Granja*. He landed at the weſtern ſide of this cape, in a bay where the *Yaque* empties itſelf into the ſea, which at that time was called the *Gold River*, becauſe a quantity of grains of gold of the ſize of lentils had been

been found in the ſand. On the 6th he continued his courſe and met with the *Pinta*, which came from the oppoſite road with a favorable wind. *Martin Alonſo* readily joined with him, in the hopes of forgiveneſs for his miſconduct, and improper behaviour. He endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, by laying the fault on the ſtrong winds, which compelled him, quite contrary to his will, to ſail to the eaſt, where he had diſcovered ſeven iſles, which in all probability were *Inagua*, ſome little iſles of the *Caycos*, and other neighbouring ones to *Abreojos*, or the ſhallows of *Babueca*. From this quarter he ſaid, he had ſailed three weeks ago to *Eſpanola*, and traded with the natives at ſeveral places, chiefly at the mouth of a river, where he had ſtopped for ſixteen days. But this very narrative betrayed the falſity and weakneſs of his apology; the experience and time ſpent in this navigation clearly ſhewed that he was actuated by avidity, as he had navigated againſt the prevailing wind. Beſides this, it appeared by what was told by the crew of the ſhip, that after having been diſappointed with reſpect to the rich iſland

of

of *Babeque*, which they could not find, they came to the isle of *Hayti*, whither they were conducted by the *Lucayans*; and that *Martin Alonso*, by traffic with the king of that place, had acquired a considerable quantity of gold, of which he kept the one half for himself, in his quality of captain, and distributed the other amongst his people, in order to insure their adherence and gratitude. *Columbus* after all received him with great friendship, and had the address to conceal his resentment, which was a part he had been obliged to act several times before, lest the haughtiness and ambition of the *Pinzons* should excite an insurrection, which would hazard the fruits of his labour, and the fortunate advantages of his discoveries; on this account, he wished to get rid of his companions, and to return to *Spain* without delay.

II. He landed again in the harbour of *Monte Christi*, in order to water at *Yaque*; and on the 9th of January he began his voyage to the east, having resolved to postpone, till another opportunity, the search after the gold mines, the traces of which were visible

viſible on the ſands of this river, as well as the examination of the delightful fields which widely expanded themſelves to his enchanted eye. He deſcried at a diſtance in the ſea, three kinds of hideous fiſh, with heads ſomewhat human like. He had already obſerved ſome of this ſpecies on the coaſt of *Guinea*, and took them to be the old fabulous ſyrens, though ſtripped of thoſe beauties with which poetic fiction has embelliſhd them. Perhaps they were ſeals *(Manaties.)* But he was ſtill more ſurpriſed at the ſight of the large tortoiſes, which they caught fifteen leages off *Monte Chriſti*, near a cape called *Punta Roia*, (the red point.) On the 10th, both ſhips entered the mouth of the river *Martin Alonſo*, which name *Columbus* changed into *Gracia*, but it has preſerved the former name after its diſcover. *Martin Alonſo* had ſeized by force on four men, and two young women, whom he carried along with him. The Admiral cauſed them to be ſet at liberty again, and to be cloathed and preſented with many trinkets. In ſuch a way he conceived himſelf bound to act, agreeably to the will of their Majeſties towards their vaſſals, for he

ranked

ranked all the inhabitants of the diſcovered countries in that claſs, eſpecially thoſe of the iſland abounding in gold, where he had left a colony of *Spaniards*. The next day he diſcovered a good harbour at the foot of a mountain, which was, as it were, entirely veiled in ſilver clouds, on which account he gave to both the name of *Monte y puerto de Plata*, (the *Mount* and *Port* of *Silver*.)

III. He continued his courſe with a favourable wind and current, and arrived on the 12th at *Cabo del Cabron*, which he called *Cabo del Enamorado*; he caſt anchor in the large bay or gulph of *Samana*, which the ſea forms to the ſouth, at the end of the northern coaſt, in order to obſerve the oppoſition and conjunction of certain ſtars, which he expected to appear in four days after; and at the ſame time to take in freſh water, and to provide himſelf with ſome refreſhments. The ſhore was beautiful, ſhaded with abundance of maſtic-trees, cotton-ſhrubs, and many plantations of *ages* and *peper*, which drew the attention of the *Spaniards*. Here they found

ſome

ſome inhabitants, who were quite different in aſpect and form from thoſe they had already ſeen. Their viſages were black, their hair long and tied behind, with plumes of feathers plucked from parrots, and other birds, on their heads, each armed with a bow and arrow, and inſtead of a ſword, a hard heavy ſtick two inches thick. They ſtood prepared to fight with a kind of wild and fierce courage, but when they found themſelves treated in a friendly manner, they came near, and exchanged two bows and ſome arrows, and one of them was even prevailed upon to come on board. *Columbus* endeavoured to win him over, and preſented him with ſome *European* victuals and trinkets. He put ſeveral queſtions to him, partly by ſigns, and partly through the medium of the *Lucayan* interpreters, to which he anſwered in the ſame way, though the anſwers could not be underſtood. He gave an account of countries, in which pieces of *Guanin* were to be found, as big as the half of the ſtern of the ſhip, and a fabled iſland inhabited only by women, who ſometimes held an intercourſe with the *Caribs*, who

who after their deliverance kept the daughters, and ſent the ſons to their fathers. The only certain intelligence he gave was the ſituation of the *Caribee* iſlands, which he pointed out as lying to the eaſt. Nay, theſe iſlanders were ſuppoſed themſelves to belong to that race. The fierceneſs of their countenance, their rough and proud language, their intrepidity, the magnitude of their bows and arrows, every thing tallied with the deſcription which the former harmleſs, and inoffenſive iſlanders had given of their cruel enemies.

IV. The ſuppoſition was confirmed by an occurrence which happened ſoon after. When ſeven *Spaniards* went on ſhore, with the native who had been ſo kindly treated on board, they obſerved fifty-five bow-men concealed amongſt the trees on the beach. The native perſuaded his countrymen to lay down their arms, and to come up to the *Spaniards*, who, according to the command of the Admiral, began to purchaſe bows and arrows; they had already got two, but when they deſired more, the ſavages, per-

perhaps, ſuſpecting ſome ill deſign, took themſelves to their arms, on a ſudden, and ſeemed determined to ſeize on the foreigners, by means of their weapons and a kind of ropes. The *Spaniards* immediately attacked them with violence, and having wounded two, one of them on the poſteriors with a heavy blow, and the other lightly on the breaſt, the reſt ran off in fright. They would have killed many of them, if the pilot had not ſtopt them in their purſuit after the fugitives. Though *Columbus* was diſpleaſed with this affair, yet, on the other hand, he was glad of a victory obtained by a few men over ſuch expert and gallant archers, and that if communicated to the reſt of the natives, it would command reſpect for the *Spaniards*; the event turned out as he had predicted. The next morning many of the inhabitants came to the ſhore without any marks of hoſtility, and amongſt the reſt a perſon of high diſtinction, as could be eaſily perceived, who preſented the *Spaniards* that came on ſhore in a boat, with a kind of beads, as tokens of peace,

and

and went confidently on board with three of his attendants. Several queſtions were put, and anſwers and accounts given relative to the gold on that, and the neighbouring iſlands of *Martinio* and *Carib*; they were treated with biſcuit and honey, and preſented with glaſs beads and other trinkets, with which they went on ſhore much ſatisfied. The *Cazique* promiſed to ſend a crown of gold on the following day, and kept his word. During the whole of theſe two days, the natives ſucceſſively came to exchange their cotton, bread, roots, and other victuals, for our toys, but were all armed, whence this bay received the name of *Flechas*, (Arrows.) At length four young fellows came on board, who unfortunately for themſelves, in one ſenſe, evinced evident proofs of their good underſtanding, as they anſwered every queſtion that was put to them without the leaſt embarraſſment. The Admiral finding they were very fit perſons to anſwer his purpoſe, reſolved to carry them, with ſix or ſeven other men of different iſlands, along with him to *Spain*.

V. On

V. On the 16th of January he ſet ſail, without waiting for the ſtate of the planets, to the influence of which the aſtrologers of the barbarous age aſcribed a thouſand marvellous things, but what alarmed him moſt of all was, the vaſt quantity of water which the two veſſels drew, and the inceſſant labour of the crew in conſequence of it. He wiſhed, it is true, to view the iſles of *C. Juan*, or, as it was afterwards called, *Matinino*, the *Caribs*, ſo much dreaded, and many others marked by the *Haytites*. But he thought proper to give up this wiſh, and to bend his courſe directly for *Spain*, eaſt north-eaſt, though in the beginning he was obliged to ſhape it rather to the north, and to ſail with a ſide wind, on account of the eaſterly gales. Up to the latter end of January, he made about 460 leagues, ſomewhat more than a league an hour. On the 18th the ſea was found to ſwarm with tunnies, and other great fiſh, for three days inceſſantly, at the end of which they began to diſappear. As their proviſions already decreaſed, and there was nothing left but wine, bread, and

Ages; now and then a tunny or ſhark was caught and dreſt, which in a certain degree ſupplied their encreaſing wants, and ſo far relieved the crew. The tardineſs of the voyage was often relieved by the ſight of ſeveral birds, and ſtill more ſo by the mild agreeable air, and the calmneſs of the ſea, circumſtances which often made the religious Admiral burſt forth into thanks unto Almighty God.

VI. On the firſt of February, favourable gales began to advance their eaſtern courſe. The ſky became overcaſt with clouds, but the fine weather ſoon returned again, and at the end of the fifth, the ſight of ſome ſtorm birds excited hopes of the ſpeedy proſpect of land; but *Columbus* did not cheriſh theſe hopes till the eleventh, when he had ſailed two hundred leagues farther. He did not merely rely upon the calculation of his journal, which, however, he noted with great accuracy, but called into his aid the obſervation of the time, when he had ſteered through the retarding ſea-graſs, which was frequently ſeen from

Samana,

Samana, and ſeemed only to extend to the equator, where thoſe maritime meads were firſt diſcovered on the outward voyage, namely, 263 leagues weſt of the iſle of *Ferro*. *Vicente Yanez*, and the pilots *Ruiz*, *Nino*, and *Roldan*, who were on board the *Nina*, reckoned on an erroneous calculation of being about eight degrees nearer the eaſt.

VII. On the 12th, every one was diſpoſed to believe that they were already near ſome harbour, either on the *Azores*, according to the juſt judgment of the Admiral, or *Madeira* or *Puerto Santo*; or ſome of the *European* countries, according to the ſuppoſition of other ſeamen. A violent ſtorm burſt forth, and continued with ſuch encreaſing rage, that it was expected every moment, for three days together, that both caravals would go to the bottom. The ſport of winds and waves, they now ſeparated from each other, and each thought the other loſt, and expected every moment to ſhare the ſame fate. Having reſigned all hopes from human aid, they implored the aſſiſtance of the Supreme Being. Thoſe who were on board the *Nina*, as well

the Admiral himſelf, vowed to walk a pilgrimage, according as the lot ſhould fall upon each, one to the holy houſe of *Loretto*, another to that in *Guadaloupe*, and a third to paſs a whole night in prayer in *Santa Clara de Moguer*. In addition to this vow, they promiſed beſides to walk barefooted in proceſſion, with penitential garments, to any church dedicated to the holy Virgin, on the firſt land they ſhould reach. The heavens, nevertheleſs, ſeemed inexorable to prayers and vows, the ſwelling ſurges rolled over each other mountain high, and every wave threatened to overwhelm the ſhip, which was ſtill more expoſed to the rage of the billows, from her lightneſs, as the proviſions were conſumed, and ſhe was without ballaſt, which they had neglected to take in on ſetting out, leſt they ſhould loſe the favourable wind; this act of imprudence could only be remedied, in a certain degree, by filling the empty caſks with ſalt-water. Notwithſtanding all the ſkill, dexterity, and contrivance of the Admiral, who never loſt his preſence of mind, the dread and danger encreaſed, on the night of the 15th of

February, they roſe to the higheſt degree. The tempeſt acquired additional ſtrength, and the waves additional fury. *Columbus* fancied in his ſorrowful mind, that Divine Providence had decreed to put an end here to his mortal exiſtence, and to bury his glorious deeds in eternal oblivion. But the lamentations and reproaches of the crew affected him more than the image of death. They accuſed themſelves of their confidence in a vain ambitious man, who had expoſed them to inevitable deſtruction. His heart was wrung with the moſt poignant diſtreſs, as often as he reflected that his children would become orphans, that poſterity would ſneer at his memory, and that mankind would be deprived of the ineſtimable benefits which his diſcoveries promiſed. The more anxious his wiſhes were to ſee them conferred on the world, his diſcouragement encreaſed in proportion. He felt, however, and reproved his weakneſs, and lifting his afflicted heart to God, he hoped, through the mercy of Divine Providence, to ſee the accompliſhment of his wiſhes. In this ſituation, he wrote thus in his journal, " God

Almighty inſpired me with the idea of the voyage, his goodneſs alone removed infinite difficulties and obſtacles, till it was accompliſhed. He filled me with courage and fortitude to contend with my companions, who, on having reſolved to return, roſe up in inſurrection againſt me, and at laſt made me find what I ſought and deſired. He will finiſh his work, what have I to fear? but weakneſs and anxiety weigh down my ſoul."

VIII. Whilſt his mind was affected with ſuch thoughts, and with the diſtreſſing idea that the *Pinta* had ſuffered wreck, he bethought himſelf of an expedient, by which, in caſe his ſhip ſhould not ſurvive the tempeſt, the account, and advantages ariſing from his ſucceſsful diſcoveries, might, perhaps, be wafted to *Spain*, and reach his ſons, ſo that his memory would be handed down to poſterity with honour and gratitude. He wrote a ſhort account of his voyage and diſcoveries, folded it up and put his ſeal on it, with a ſuperſcription to their Majeſties of *Caſtile*, and a promiſe of a thouſand ducats reward to the perſon who ſhould deliver it unopened to their

their Majeſties, on which he wrapped it up in a piece of ſear-cloth, entirely covered it with wax, and put it into a tight little cheſt, water proof, and threw it into the ſea. He preſerved a duplicate of this account in another cheſt, which he kept on board, that it might have a better chance of being found, if the ſhip ſhould happen to ſink nearer the *European* coaſts. The tempeſt began to abate after a heavy ſhower of rain, which fell in conſequence of the wind changing to the weſt. On the fifteenth, early in the morning, they diſcovered land at the diſtance of five leagues; it was the iſle of *Santa Maria*, the moſt ſouthern one of the *Azores*. But as the wind changed, and the billows began to ſwell again, they weathered it out with great difficulty, and could not caſt anchor till the night of the 17th. The place, however, was ſo unfit to moor, that they were obliged to commit themſelves to the mercy of the ocean once more, with the loſs of an anchor. At laſt by ſun-riſe they landed on the northern coaſt. The *Portugueſe*, who inhabited the iſle, were aſtoniſhed that ſuch a little ſhip ſhould be

able to weather out ſuch a dreadful ſtorm. They did not expreſs leſs admiration and pleaſure at the wonderful accounts of the voyage, which they had received from three *Spaniards*, who were ſent on ſhore in a boat. The governor of the iſland, *Juan de Caſtaneda*, detained them under the pretext of the delight which their narratives afforded him. He ſent three men in their ſtead aboard, with fowls, new baked bread, and other refreſhments, together with his ſalutations and reſpects to the Admiral.

IX. On the following day, *Columbus* ordered one half of the crew, according to the vow made in the ſtorm, to walk barefooted to a hermitage conſecrated to the Holy Virgin. *Caſtaneda* was informed of the pilgrimage by his meſſengers, who were to engage a prieſt to read maſs, and whilſt the devout *Spaniards* were offering up their prayers, he ſurprized them with armed men, and made them all priſoners. *Columbus* awaited their return with anxiety, that he might perform his vow with the reſt of his people. His mind foreboded ſome ſad

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misfortune from their delay, and when the clock ſtruck eleven, and no ſign of their appearance, he ſteered to a point of land, from whence he could ſee the chapel. He perceived ſome armed *Portugueſe* get into his boat, and row towards the ſhip. They approached with their captain at their head, but only ſo far as to be underſtood. Farther they would not attempt to advance, notwithſtanding they had demanded and obtained a promiſe of ſafety, becauſe they feared the ſnare that really was laid for them, under the guiſe of flattering and friendly words. When the Admiral ſaw himſelf diſappointed in the hopes of receiving his men back again, and that *Caſtaneda*, after ſeveral queſtions and counter-queſtions, could not be prevailed on to reſtore them, he upbraided him with his mean treachery, menaced him with the diſgrace that his conduct would bring on him from his Sovereign, and the vengeance of the *Caſtilians*; declaring upon oath, that he would not quit the caravel, till he had carried away one hundred *Portugueſe*, as a repriſal. Several of them anſwered that they cared as little for the vengeance of the

the *Caſtilian Kings*, as they did for the menaces of their Admiral, as he was pleaſed to call himſelf. In addition to the low inſulting language, the Governor ſaid, that what he had done was in obedience to the will of the King, his maſter.

X. *Columbus* ſuppoſed from theſe words, that hoſtilities had broken out betwixt the two powers, as if the jealouſy and political intereſt of the Court of *Liſbon* could not dictate ſuch orders in time of peace. When the *Portugueſe* returned to ſhore, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of returning to the place he had firſt anchored, but the anchorage was ſo bad, and the ſtorm encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that the veſſel broke from her moorings, ſo that ſhe loſt her anchors. It ſeemed leſs dangerous to put to ſea again, than to attempt to remain in ſo dangerous a place. The tempeſt grew more violent. The diſtreſs and labour of the crew alſo encreaſed, as the greater part of the hands, it may be recollected, were on ſhore. On the morning of the 21ſt, the ſtorm began to ſubſide, this induced him to return to

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the harbour, with an intent to purchaſe the anchors, if poſſible, and to regain his men, who had been ſo perfidiouſly impriſoned, together with the boat. He was happy enough to attain his end. Five ſeamen and two prieſts came on board, under a promiſe of ſafety, with a Notary, requeſting a ſight of the royal letter, by virtue of which he was authorized to undertake the voyage. The Admiral, conſcious of the delicacy of his ſituation, ſuppreſſed his reſentment, and ſhewed it to them, and immediately his men and boat were reſtored. The latter informed him of the great danger his perſon would have been expoſed to if he had fallen into the hands of the *Portugueſe*.

XI. To avoid other diſagreeable conſequences, he ſet ſail on the 24th, deſtitute of wood and ballaſt, neither of which he was able to procure. For the firſt three days the wind was favourable, on the two following the wind was contrary, and blew a very boiſterous gale. On the 1ſt of March, the wind ſhifted again to a favourable point, but became more violent in proportion as they

they approached the *Spaniſh* coaſts. On the night of the ſecond to the third, as they were near the long wiſhed for ſhore, a hurricane on a ſudden aroſe, the ſails were ſhattered in pieces, and the veſſel every moment was expected to ſink into the abyſs of deſtruction. The rolling ſurge, the vivid flaſhes of lightning, and ſucceſſive peals of thunder united to render the tempeſt the moſt tremendous and awful, and ſufficient to affright the moſt intrepid mind. The ſtorm continued for the whole day, with unremitting rage, and encreaſed as the night approached. The ſhip, deprived of her canvas, was conſigned to that providence, which had ſo frequently manifeſted itſelf in favour of the crew. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, in which they betook themſelves to prayer, ſupplications, and religious ceremonies, their depreſſed hearts were ſuddenly elevated with the ſight of land towards midnight; they kept themſelves in great diſtreſs, with much ado at ſea, through the fear of running on ſome unknown place, and ſuffering ſhipwreck, after all the dangers they had eſcaped. At break of day they perceived the rock of *Sintra*,

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and got ſafe into the *Tagus*. From *Cuſcaes* to the entrance of the harbour, they were welcomed with reiterated congratulations by crowds of people, who had diſcovered the ſhip in the morning, with faint hopes that ſhe would ever be able to make the harbour. And as they joined in prayer for their deliverence, ſo they now joined the *Spaniards* in thankſgiving. The pious Admiral diſcerned and felt the interpoſition of Divine Providence in all the dangers and difficulties which he had encountered in this voyage, and this induced him to hope that God had choſen him as an inſtrument to conduct the moſt glorious enterprize the Chriſtian world ever witneſſed. A pilgrimage which had been vowed in the laſt tempeſt by lot, fell upon the Admiral, and two of his companions, in conſequence of a ſimilar vow in the *Azores*.

XII. After he had repoſed a little from the calamities and fatigues he had undergone, he informed our monarch of his arrival, and at the ſame time he ſent to requeſt the permiſſion of the king of *Portugal*

tugal to come to *Liſbon*, in order to procure ſome neceſſaries, as well as to avoid ſome dangers to which he might be expoſed in an uninhabited place. In order to lull the jealouſy of the court of *Liſbon*, he ſaid, he did not come from *Guinea*, nor any other part of the *Portugueſe* colonies; but from *Cipango*, and the *Indian* frontiers, which he had diſcovered towards the weſt; that he had diſcovered countries in thoſe regions, the moſt happy imaginable, in point of ſeaſon, fertility, and wealth; the air conſtantly mild and ſalubrious, ſeas only moved by gentle breezes, on which the very trees and herbs expanded their verdant foliage on the waters, countries that boaſted all the qualities of the bleſſed clime, in which God had placed the garden of Paradiſe, which, according to divines and philoſophers, was ſituated at the end of the eaſt. He maintained this opinion in conformity to his imagination, and in defiance of the ſentiments of the learned, he drew over the common people to this belief. The report of theſe wonderful diſcoveries was diffuſed with great rapidity over all *Liſbon*. Curioſity

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was ſtill more excited by an incident which happened aboard the guardſhip in the harbour of *Belen*. *Columbus* was ſummoned, according to cuſtom, to appear on board of this ſhip, in order to give an account to the Miniſter of Finance, and to the head commander, of the cauſe of his arrival in the harbour. But *Columbus* anſwered, that in his quality as Admiral to the King of *Caſtile*, he did not conſider himſelf obliged to comply with this ceremony, and for this reaſon he alſo refuſed to depute any perſon in his bark for that purpoſe. He condeſcended, however, to tranſmit his letters patent, on which, Captain *D. Alvaro de Acuna* appeared with great pomp, with the ſound of drums, pipes, and trumpets, to hail his arrival. An innumerable multitude came running to gaze at the illuſtrious diſcoverer, and the rare things he had brought along with him, eſpecially the *Indians:* for this name was already given to the iſlanders who had accompanied him from the new diſcovered countries, which were likewiſe called the *Indies*. All theſe things raiſed their aſtoniſhment, and exalted the magnitude of the enterprize, and the happineſs of the Catholic

Catholic kings, whom they praiſed as worthy of ſuch bright rewards, for their endeavours to advance the propagation of the true religion.

XIII. In the mean time orders arrived from the court, which reſided at *Valdeparaiſo*, contiguous to *Santaren*, to furniſh *Columbus* and his crew with all neceſſaries in abundance, at the expence of the treaſury. And *Columbus* himſelf was honoured with a letter from the king, in which he congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his fortunate voyage, and invited him to come to court. *Columbus* immediately ſet out for this purpoſe, with apparent pleaſure, but with ſecret diſtruſt. He was received with peculiar ſplendor and honour, and was indulged to ſit covered before the king. He ſpoke freely and ingenuouſly of the ſucceſs of his voyage, depicting the excellent qualities of the diſcovered countries in all the lively colours of his peculiar and creative imagination. The courtiers declared this candour to be rather unbecoming, and bordering on boldneſs, impoliteneſs and pride, and that the wonderful rela-

relations were exaggerated, for the purpoſe of afflicting and throwing blame on the Monarch who had forfeited the benefits of theſe diſcoveries, by having rejected the propoſal of the plan of the expedition, and depreciated the author of it. But the generous King granted him ſeveral interviews, ſpoke with him in a friendly manner, loaded him with every demonſtration of honour and clemency, and cauſed him to be treated in every reſpect like a grandee. On the other hand, his Majeſty was truly penſive and ſorrowful, becauſe he believed the great object which the *Portugueſe* had been ſo ardently in purſuit of, had been already taken poſſeſſion of by the *Caſtilians*; for that the *Spaniards* had already been on the iſlands, or eaſtern countries of *Aſia*, and that the men brought along with them were from thoſe parts, he did not entertain the leaſt doubt, as they had not the criſped hair, black complexion, or the features of the inhabitants of *Guinea*; on the contrary, they entirely reſembled the natives of *India*, according to every account. He conſoled himſelf, however, with the hopes of being able to maintain his pretended claims to the

whole *Indies*, and the adjoining ſeas, which were founded on grants from the Pope, and exiſting treaties betwixt both courts, and to carry them into effect either by negociations or force of arms*. The Prince was adviſed to avail

* The Pope preſented the *Portugueſe*, at ſeveral times, particularly in 1443, 1452, 1454, and 1455, with the countries of the *Saracens*, and thoſe of the *Pagans* in *Africa*. In the firſt bull, he permitted the biſhops only to mark all thoſe with the crucifix, who would voluntarily engage in the cruſades to north *Africa*, or contribute money, to the expences of this expedition, and to grant them indulgence without injuring the rights of the *Spaniards*, however, to thoſe countries inhabited by the *Saracens*. But when the *Portugueſe* diſcovered the unknown weſtern countries of this part of the world, ſuch as *Guinea*, and ſeveral iſlands, he allowed them, in 1454, all the countries of the heathens, from the cape of *Bajador*, and thoſe that they might diſcover beyond it, in conſequence of their having already ſpent five and twenty years, and a great deal of money in theſe expeditions, and eſpecially as they poſſeſſed themſelves of them firſt, and above all, that they would be enabled to continue the war againſt the *Mahomedans*, through the acquiſition of theſe new diſcoveries. He reſtricted all chriſtian monarchs from navigating thoſe ſeas, without the permiſſion of the King of *Portugal*, but what was more, he permitted the latter to keep the miſerable natives in eternal ſlavery. — T. N.

himſelf

himſelf of a ſtill more eaſy and expeditious mode of getting out of this embarraſſment. Some of his courtiers perſuaded him that the *Caſtilians* would not proſecute theſe diſcoveries, unleſs *Columbus* once more led the way; they offered, therefore, to pick a quarrel with him, and to diſpatch him. Theſe were the politics of thoſe days, to propoſe a baſe and cowardly aſſaſſination, to a Prince that was reckoned virtuous, as a demonſtration of loyalty and adherence. But the juſt King was ſo far from liſtening to ſuch a horrid propoſition, that he offered *Columbus* every thing he wanted, or whatever he thought might contribute to the utility of the catholic Kings, and then he parted with him in the ſame kind manner in which he had received him. Not content with that, he ſent a meſſenger after him, to aſſure the Admiral, that if he wiſhed to go by land to *Spain*, he had given orders for a guard to accompany him to the frontiers of *Portugal*, and to furniſh him with every thing of which he might ſtand in need. The Queen alſo treated him with the ſame kindneſs and politeneſs, as he paſſed by the convent of *S. Antonio*,

within a ſhort diſtance of *Villa Franca*. As ſoon as he arrived at the harbour, he ſet ſail on the 13th in the morning, with a favourable wind, and on the 15th of March, about noon, he entered the harbour of *Palos*.

XIV. The joy which the inhabitants of the good town of *Palos* felt at the arrival of our glorious mariners is not to be expreſſed, as moſt of them were their fellow citizens and relations. The whole town joined with them in ſolemnizing their triumph with a thouſand demonſtrations of joy and gladneſs, eſpecially in a devout ſolemn proceſſion, in which they poured forth praiſe and thankſgiving to Heaven. The general exultation was, if poſſible, encreaſed in the evening at the unexpected arrival of the *Pinta*. In the night of the firſt tempeſt, ſhe had been driven by a violent ſouth wind, and after a hard ſtruggle with the boiſterous waves, ſhe reached *Bayona*, in *Galicia*. When *Martin Alonſo* entered the harbour of *Palos*, and ſaw the *Nina*, he began to fear that the Admiral, out of revenge, might call him to an account, and have him puniſhed, for his diſobedience

of

of orders, and his unpardonable deſertion at *Cuba*; in conſequence of which he abſented himſelf, and ſecretly expected the reſolution and anſwer of the court, which he had ſupplicated, to permit him to give a private report of his voyage. After ſome days, when he was informed that *Columbus* had ſet out for the court, he grew very ſick and weak; his malady encreaſed, when he had the mortification to hear that no notice was taken of his petition, and a ſhort time after he expired, an unfortunate victim to his paſſions. He was one of the greateſt navigators of his age, and not inferior in courage and reſolution, to the firſt men of any age. It was he that particularly ſtimulated *Columbus* to embark in his glorious undertaking, and procured the hands neceſſary for manning the fleet, through his activity and example. He alſo ſelected able leaders and officers, and animated them by his ſpirit and intrepidity. In a word, he was, next to *Columbus*, the ſoul of the expedition, and contributed in a great part, to the performance of the moſt wonderful enterpriſe that ever was undertaken; and, indeed, he fain wiſhed to have reſerved

the glory of it to himſelf; for before *Columbus* had finally aſſented to the embarkation, he deſigned to fit out two ſhips at his own expence, in order to explore the weſtern countries. He pretended to have received certain accounts of them, and that from ancient manuſcripts in the Pope's library, particularly an old prophecy in the days of *Solomon*, in which it was ſtated, that in a navigation from the extremity of *Spain*, weſtwards, in midway betwixt north and ſouth, about ninety-five degrees weſt, the fertile and wealthy *Cipango* would be found; an ill contrived fiction of *Areas Perez*, his ſon, and the heir of his jealouſy, fabricated for the purpoſe of tarniſhing the fame of the illuſtrious diſcoverer *. He endeavoured by this and other improbable fabrications, in

* *Oviedo*, and other envious *Spaniards*, have likewiſe endeavoured, in conſequence of theſe tales, to deprive the Admiral of the glory of the diſcovery of the *New World;* nay, the *Pinzons* pretended that *Columbus* had not even ſeen land firſt. According to their account, which *Oviedo* repeats, one of *Pinzon's* mariners ſaw light firſt of all, and cried out "land." This man, they ſay, out of reſentment, becauſe he did not receive the promiſed reward, went to *Africa*, abjured chriſtianity, and embraced mahomedaniſm. T. N.

vain

vain to blaſt the well-earned laurels of *Columbus*, in order that his father might ſhare in the glory of the expedition.

XV. *Columbus* enjoyed this honour, which was juſtly his due, without any diminution. After his feelings had been gratified with the firſt effuſions of the joy and admiration of the people of *Palos*, he ſet out for *Sevilla*, and ſent an expreſs to their Majeſties, who then reſided at *Barcelona*, with a ſhort account of his voyage, and the unclouded proſpects which it opened. The effects and deſigns which thoſe unexpected accounts produced at court, appear in ſome meaſure from the anſwer which the King and Queen wrote him, under the date of the 30th of March. In this letter they expreſſed much joy at his great ſucceſs, with the livelieſt hopes of the aggrandizement of the monarchy, and the diffuſion of religion, and a fervent deſire to witneſs a continuation of the undertaking, the commencement of which was crowned with ſuch auſpicious good fortune. They requeſted him to repair as ſpeedily as poſſible to *Barcelona*, and in the

mean time to furniſh an eſtimate of what he ſhould think neceſſary for the equipment of another ſquadron, with which he might return to the *Indies*; as in conſequence of his opinion and advice, ſuch meaſures and preparations ſhould be taken, that in the interval of his coming and return from *Barcelona*, every thing might be ready for his putting to ſea again during the convenient ſeaſon. They added a promiſe to reward his ſervices in a worthy manner, and as a prelude to it, they conferred on him the titles of Don, Admiral, Viceroy, and Lieutenant. *Columbus* returned an anſwer by the meſſenger who brought this letter, with a ſhort report, and prepared to ſet out for the court with all the expedition imaginable, with ſpecimens of all the productions, commodities, animals, and men of the new countries. The rarity and novelty of theſe things, never ſeen nor heard of before, encreaſed the ſenſations which this wonderful diſcovery had already excited. The rumour of it ſpread around, and the influx of people which had began in the harbour, ſwelled like a river fed with many ſtreams; at *Seville*, it continued to encreaſe,

to

to an immenſe multitude, which almoſt choaked up the roads to ſee the Admiral, (for now he was diſtinguiſhed by this title,) with his retinue. In this manner our hero went along, raviſhed with heart-felt pleaſures, and his ears inceſſantly ſaluted with plaudits and acclamations of joy. His ſatisfaction was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, in conſequence of the ſolemn reception he met with at *Barcelona*, where he made a triumphant entry, encircled by a number of courtiers, knights, and other perſons of every rank and claſs, who were never ſatisfied with gazing on him, and to ſwell his heroic exploits. Attended by his train, he appeared in the preſence of the King and Queen, who expected him, and received him publickly and ſolemnly in a ſplendid ſaloon, ſeated on the throne, with the prince *Don Juan* on their right hand, in the midſt of a brilliant and magnificent court. The glorious diſcoverer approached with a ſerene and joyful countenance. On his entrance, the royal pair graciouſly aroſe, held out their hands for him to kiſs, without permitting him to kneel, and deſired him to ſpeak ſitting, the

higheſt

higheſt honour which the grandees could aſpire to, and that was ſeldom indulged except through extraordinary clemency and gratitude.

XVI. *Columbus* related with great gaiety, but at the ſame time with becoming gravity, the diſtinguiſhed favours which Divine Providence had ſhowered on their pious Majeſties, through his humble means. The immenſe ocean, hitherto inacceſſible to all mortals, and now open to the fleets of *Spain*, and a hemiſphere diſcovered in its lap, till then unknown to the *Old World*. New ſeas and wonderful countries riſing into view, the acquiſition of which would undoubtedly redound to the incredible glory and aggrandizement of the *Spaniſh* Monarch, and of the catholic church. As a proof of the truth of what he related, he diſplayed the ſeveral articles which he had brought with him, ſeveral kinds of earth fit to be uſed in painting, amber, pieces of ore, cotton, various kinds of ſeeds, branches and roots of aromatic and medicinal plants, aloes, maſtic, rhubarb, purple, agi (peper) of ſeveral forms, and of a more

a more fragrant taſte than the eaſtern peper. With thoſe known and uſeful articles, and the ſamples of other ſpices and aromatics, he pointed out the advantages which would accrue to commerce and the treaſury. He held out ſtill greater hopes of riches, by the quantity of gold which he exhibited in ſeveral pieces, in grain, as well as in duſt, as it had been picked up without any preparation by art, and which promiſed certain hopes of leading, on due examination, to the diſcovery of rich gold mines. He painted, in glowing colours, the fertility of the ſoil, which, after a little cultivation, produced maize, yuca, batatas, and ſeveral other fruits in abundance, different from the vegetable race in *Europe*, of which he alſo produced ſome ſamples. It was not to be doubted, he ſaid, that grounds which rejoiced in never-fading verdure, covered with trees, cloathed with leaves, and the fineſt graſs, would yield an abundant produce of *European* edibles. In order to contraſt the luxury and novelty of the *New World* with thoſe of the *Old World* in a more ſtriking light, he diſplayed ſeveral kinds of foreign and marine animals, with

forty

forty parrots of the livelieſt plumage and variegated colours. After this he drew the attention of the brilliant aſſembly to the ſix natives of the *New World*, who were preſent, and ſpoke of the qualities, diſpoſitions, and manners of thoſe people, their rudeneſs, ſimplicity, and gentle temper. He exhibited their coarſe dreſs and ornaments, their feeble arms, rude and clumſy utenſils and veſſels, which anſwered to his deſcription of them as naked Barbarians, without arts and ſciences, without arms, without cultivation, and their wants few. He added this remark, that notwithſtanding the great ignorance and barbarity in which they lived, he had not, however, obſerved any trace of ſuperſtition or idolatry amongſt them, but on the contrary that they all ſeemed to be convinced of the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, who dwelt in Heaven; from whence it proceeded, that they looked up to the firmament as often as they expreſſed admiration or joy, that they conſidered our *Spaniards* as deſcended from that celeſtial abode, and called whatever ſeemed excellent in their eyes, *Turey*, as it were to ſignify that the origin of

all

all excellence and goodneſs exiſted in Heaven. They diſcovered, beſides, he ſaid, much plain ſenſe, docility and inclination to adopt the chriſtian faith; and this laſt circumſtance furniſhed him with an opportunity of concluding his ſpeech with this obſervation: "that God had reſerved for the *Spaniſh* Monarchs, not only all the treaſures of the *New World*, but a ſtill greater treaſure of ineſtimable value, in the infinite number of ſouls deſtined to be brought over into the boſom of the chriſtian church.

XVII. After he had done ſpeaking, *Te Deum* was ſung by the choiriſters of the Chapel Royal, whilſt the whole aſſembly remained on their knees with pious devotion. *Columbus* and his ſurpriſing adventures were the objects of the curioſity, attention, and diſcourſe of the court and the people for many days. The King and Queen admitted him to their audience every hour he pleaſed, and loaded him with honours and marks of diſtinction. The illuſtrious Cardinal *Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*, a man of high authority, invited him to his table, placed him by his ſide, and

cauſed

cauſed him to be ſerved as a grandee. Several other perſons of exalted rank followed the example, and thought themſelves happy to enjoy the company and converſation of the illuſtrious diſcoverer of a *New World*; I ſay a *New World*, for he promiſed no leſs, nor dared any perſon to doubt any longer of the veracity of his words, after the triumph he had gained over the prevailing opinion. It was conjectured, that *Cuba* might be the utmoſt limit of the continent of *Aſia*, a ſuppoſition partly ſupported by the opinion of the ancient philoſophers, concerning the ſhort diſtance of the coaſts of *Spain* from thoſe of the weſtern *Indies*, partly by the parrots, which *Pliny* deſcribes and places in that country. As for the reſt it was taken for certain, that the diſcovery of the oppoſite hemiſphere had began, and that the whole globe, in a ſhort time, would be known and circumnavigated. In conſequence of theſe ideas, the new diſcovered countries, and the others ſuppoſed to be connected with them, received the name of the *Weſt Indies*, and the *New World*.

XVIII.

XVIII. The advice and propoſals of *Columbus*, with reſpect to another equipment, were very punctually followed. The deſign at preſent was to fit out a great fleet, in order to augment and ſtrengthen the colony of *Navidad*, to take poſſeſſion of *Eſpanola*, which was ſuppoſed to be larger than *Spain*, and from thence to purſue the diſcovery of the iſlands, and the continent towards weſt and ſouth; it was alſo imagined that all the new countries which ſhould be diſcovered, might be ſubjected without any great difficulty to the crown of *Spain*; and thus it was hoped that the light of cultured *Europe*, and of the chriſtian religion, would be diffuſed among a number of barbarians and infidels; an acquiſition of ſuch ineſtimable value, that of itſelf alone, it was deemed ſufficient to juſtify every war and conqueſt undertaken for the purpoſe of attaining it. This, at the time, was the univerſal opinion; I will not ſay that it was the moſt conſonant to reaſon, and the ſpirit of chriſtianity, the ſtrength of which conſiſts in its internal divine power, the arms of which are perſuaſive mild exhortations, patience and labour, and the propa-

gation

gation of which I always think ſhould be conducted through the only medium which the heavenly author of it preſcribed, and his diſciples and followers practiſed with wonderful ſucceſs. But the eſtabliſhed practice of the laſt four centuries ſince the commencement of the cruſades, had given a colour to the wars againſt infidels, under the pretext of removing the obſtacles which impeded the progreſs of the true religion. All thoſe that did not believe in *Jeſus Chriſt* were ſet down as enemies, and to drive them out of their poſſeſſions was conſidered as a holy meritorious work. The chriſtian princes that exerted the greateſt power for that purpoſe, were looked upon to be the moſt religious, and no one diſputed their right to ſuch conqueſts. Our court, according to theſe principles, conſidered it as religious to take poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands and the continent in the ocean, and the deſign of annexing them to the crown of *Spain* as holy. For this reaſon, it did not appear neceſſary to obtain a bull from the Pope to ſanction the proceeding; but as the erroneous opinion was prevalent, that the *Holy See*

was

was entitled to diſpoſe arbitrarily of the countries of the infidels, it was thought better and ſafer to lay an account of the whole before his Holineſs *Alexander* the Sixth, and to petition for a formal grant of all the countries that were already, and that might in future be diſcovered in the weſtern main. Beſides, this bill was ſerviceable, as it would prevent other nations, and the princes of Chriſtendom, from attempting ſimilar undertakings, and particularly as it would extinguiſh all claims and diſputes, which the court of *Liſbon* might be tempted to excite. For *Martin* the Fifth, and other Popes after him, had ceded to the crown of *Portugal* all the countries ſhe might diſcover, from the Cape of *Bojador* to the *Indies*; and the catholic Kings were bound by the treaty in the year 1479, not to hinder, moleſt, or diſturb the *Portugueſe* in thoſe nautical purſuits. Conſidering thoſe claims which *Don Juan* the Second had already mentioned to *Columbus*, it was requeſted on the preſentation of the latter, that in the conceſſion of the *Holy See*, the limits of the navigation, and the conqueſts of the *Spaniards* might be determined

by an imaginary line drawn from one pole to the other, through a point ſituated 100 leagues diſtant from the weſtern dominions of the *Portugueſe* at the *Azores*, or *Cape de Verde* iſlands.

XIX. The intelligence of the new diſcovery was received at *Rome* with great joy and admiration. The Holy Father, a *Spaniard*, and the friend of *Don Fernando*, expreſſed his joy in a very diſtinguiſhed manner. He aſſembled the holy college, and iſſued a bull on the 3d of May, with their conſent and approbation, in which he granted to the crown of *Spain* an *eternal domination* of the *New World*, under an obligation that they would propagate the catholic faith in theſe regions. The boundaries aſſigned in this bull included all the territories that ſhould be found weſtward of the fixed line, and that were not taken poſſeſſion of by any chriſtian prince before the firſt day of the current year 1493. And to remove every doubt with reſpect to thoſe countries of the *Indies*, to which the King of *Portugal* might lay claim by virtue of former bulls, the Holy Father declared,

declared, on the 26th of the following month of September, that all countries of the eaſtern *Indies*, which the *Spaniards* might find, in caſe they were not already in chriſtian hands, ſhould be included in the grant made to the catholic Kings. Beſides, by another bull, dated on the ſame third of May, addreſſed to the ſovereigns and ſubjects of *Spain*, he granted them all the ſame liberties and privileges which had been ceded by his predeceſſors to the *Portugueſe*, in their navigations to *Africa*. To theſe donatives he added high encomiums of the catholic zeal, by which our Kings, having delivered *Spain* at a conſiderable expence and loſs of blood, from the yoke of the *Moors*, had undertaken ſuch an aſtoniſhing diſcovery with equal courage and ſucceſs, and at the ſame time he exhorted them to follow up their holy deſign of acquiring new countries for the propagation of chriſtianity. *Columbus* was honoured with a high eulogy, and the glory and exalted idea of his enterpriſe, roſe in proportion as it became more and more known over *Europe*. In like manner, the expectation of the King and Queen entertained of the ho-

nour and advantages of the undertaking in the cauſe of religion, and the intereſts of their crown and country encreaſed every moment, eſpecially, by the perſuaſion of the admired diſcoverer, and from an accurate peruſal of his diary. Such powerful incentives, and the report that the King of *Portugal* had fitted out ſome ſhips, to ſail in purſuit of our conqueſts, animated our court with the moſt lively zeal and activity to fit out a conſiderable fleet.

XX. Orders were ſent to the ports of *Andaluſia*, that all the ſhips, with their captains, pilots, and men, ſhould be ready for the voyage. The preſident and magiſtrates of *Seville*, the chief juſtices, magiſtrates and bailiffs of other harbours and principal towns, the Duke of *Medinaſidonia*, and other high perſons, were ſummoned to afford all requiſite aſſiſtance. The receivers of the King's third part of the eccleſiaſtical rents, the treaſurer of the *Hermandad*, and ſeveral other officers who adminiſtered his Majeſty's revenues, were ordered to pay them to the treaſurer of *Seville*, *Franciſco Pinelo*, who

was authorized to provide for the expences of the equipment. It was alſo ordered that all the furniture, caſh, and other property of the Jews, expelled the year before, which, in ſeveral places of *Andaluſia* and *Caſtile* had been ſequeſtered, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the ſaid treaſurer; an important ſupply for the exigency of the preſent want. Beſides theſe aſſignations for the proviſion of money, *Pinelo* was authorized to negociate a loan to fill up what was ſtill wanting; and the preſident, Count *Ciſuentes* was directed to aid and aſſiſt him in raiſing ſuch loans to the utmoſt of his power. Others were called upon to aſſiſt in providing artillery, guns, powder, and arms of different kinds, likewiſe grain, biſcuit, and other proviſions. And to remove every impediment, and expedite the equipment, every thing requiſite for that purpoſe was declared to be duty free, and this order was ſent to all the receivers of his Majeſty's revenue. In the kingdom of *Granada*, twenty lance-men, well mounted on the beſt horſes, and armed, were ſelected, and as many ſkilful huſbandmen, with directions that they ſhould hold them-

ſelves in readineſs on the 20th of June, in *Seville*, to await the orders of the Admiral, and *Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonſeca*.

XXI. *Fonſeca*, who was raiſed in a ſhort time to very high dignities, was brother to Mr. *de Coca*, and *Alaejos*, and *Don Antonio de Fonſeca*, high treaſurer of *Caſtile*; he was appointed on this occaſion adminiſtrator of the affairs belonging to the fleet bound for the *Indies*, and of all other functions relative to the navigation and commerce of *Seville* and *Cadiz*, with a ſalary of 20,000 maravedis. *Pinelo*, and *Juan de Soria*, were aſſigned to him as aſſiſtants; the firſt as treaſurer, and the ſecond as accountant. This office was to be erected at *Seville*, and to ſuperintend the buſineſs at *Cadiz*, in which laſt place a cuſtom-houſe was eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of the traffic of the new navigation. It was intended to eſtabliſh a ſimilar office in *Eſpanola*, under the ſuperintendance of the Admiral, and a reciprocal communication to be maintained betwixt both, as far as related to the regiſter of perſons, cargoes, and munition of ſhips

ſailing

ſailing in and out of each harbour. All the officers engaged in theſe eſtabliſhments were to be under the inſpection of the high treaſurers, or miniſters of finance; for, as all the expences were advanced out of the royal treaſury, the profits ariſing out of the colony were to be paid into it. Accordingly it was prohibited, under ſevere penalties, nay, upon pain of death, to any perſon to ſail to the *Indies*, or to carry on any kind of trade or commerce in that quarter, without the expreſs permiſſion of the King, as the crown reſolved to reſerve the whole to itſelf, and to enjoin the officers ſerving under it to give the moſt minute and accurate account of every tranſaction in thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions. The ſpirit of the times, the example of the *Portugueſe*, and the unenlightened principles on which ſuch important and precious commerce was conducted, cauſed the moſt extraordinary caution and ſtrictneſs in the common courſe of things.

XXII. At the ſame time, particular care was taken of the ſpiritual good of the inha-

bitants of the *New World*. The ſuperintendance of this important buſineſs was committed to the care of Father *Fray Bernardo Boil* of *Catalonia*, a benedictine monk of the convent of *Monſerrat*, a man highly reſpected at court, on account of his learning and unaffected piety, as well as of his prudence, of which he had given evident proofs in his negociation with *France*, with reſpect to the reſtitution of *Rouſillon*. In order to give greater weight to the miſſion, the particulars were ſubmitted to the Pope in a letter, in conſequence of which, his Holineſs, on the 24th of June, iſſued a bull, in which he appointed *Fray Boil* as his apoſtolic Vicar in thoſe territories, with ſeveral epiſcopal prerogatives, as head over the reſt of the clergy, which the King and Queen intended to ſend thither for the propagation and eſtabliſhment of the Goſpel. Previous to this, the *Indians* which *Columbus* had brought with him to *Barcelona*, had been inſtructed and baptized, with extraordinary ſolemnity and pomp. The ſponſors were the King and Prince Royal, after whoſe names two of them were called; one, a pretended relative to the

Cazique

Cazique Guacanagari, received the name of *Don Fernando de Aragon*, and the other, *Don Juan de Caſtilla*. The latter remained in *Spain* at the deſire of the Prince, and reſided in the palace in high eſteem, but died in two years after. The others were ſent to *Seville*, and to be employed as ſoon as they were inſtructed in our religion and language, in the inſtruction and converſion of their countrymen. As this object was next to the heart of the King and his conſort, they enjoined the Admiral, in preference to every thing elſe, to win over the *Indians* by preſents, and a mild friendly behaviour, and to puniſh with ſeverity, every *Spaniard* that ſhould violate theſe injunctions.

XXIII. After all thoſe preparations were planned and executed in the latter end of the month of May, *Columbus* having been rewarded and honoured to the height of his wiſhes, received his diſpatches. On the 28th of May, letters patent, under the Royal Seal, were directed to him, in which the former honours conferred on him at *Granada*, were confirmed, and the bounds of his admiraltyſhip

miraltyſhip and government marked, according to the bull of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth. About a week before this, the peculiar prerogative was conferred on him and his heirs, of bearing in his arms, the armorial enſigns of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in the two upper; and in the two inferior fields, dexter, *Iſles d'or*, in azure billows, ſiniſter, his own arms; five anchors were afterwards added, as emblematic of the admiraltyſhip, with the motto, "*A Caſtilla y à Leon Nuevo Mundo dio Colon*," that is, *Colon* gave a New World to *Caſtile* and *Leon*. The annuity of thirty dollars, promiſed to the firſt diſcoverer of land, was aſſigned to the Admiral at *Cordova*, becauſe he had diſcovered the light, before any other perſon on the iſle of *Guanahani*. He alſo received an order for a thouſand doubloons, or in lieu of them, three hundred and ſixty-five thouſand maravedis. He received the Royal Seal, with the authority to iſſue ordinances under it, either by himſelf, or his deputy in his abſence, in the name of his ſovereign; and to eſtabliſh colonies wherever he ſhould think proper. The King granted him permiſſion to appoint, by his own authority, judges, magiſtrates, and other public officers.

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The arrangement of all things belonging to the fleet, the appointment of perſons and things that were to be taken along with him, the regulation of the voyage, and the eſtabliſhment of farther colonies were left entirely to the management and diſpoſition of *Columbus*, in a manner which evidently preſented to his mind the honourable light in which he was viewed, and the unbounded confidence that was repoſed in him. The Admiral felt this, and it formed every ſpark of gratitude and impatience to carry his great deſigns into execution.

XXIV. Glowing with zeal and deſire, he arrived in the beginning of June at *Seville*, and put an immediate embargo on the ſhips and mariners in that harbour. *Fonſeca*, and *Soria*, the accountant general, who reſided at *Barcelona*, followed him in a ſhort time after, and aſſiſted in the preparations for the expedition. They were followed by *Fray Boil*, with ſome friars, who were ordered to enrol immediately other eccleſiaſtics at *Seville* for the eſtabliſhment, and to procure ſacred veſſels, and veſtments neceſſary for

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the performance of divine ſervice, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. Several officers of the King's houſehold, noblemen and knights, belonging to the court, and natives of *Andaluſia*, offered to embark in the ſervice, ſome from their own accord, and others out of complaiſance to their Majeſties. The names of the chief perſons who ſtood at the head of this liſt, were *Moſen Pedro Margarit*, *Melchior Maldonado*, *Gines Gorvalan*, *Sebaſtian de Olano*, *Pedro Fernandez Coronel*, *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, *Alvaro de Acoſta*, *Antonio de Torres*, *Juan Aguado*, *Juan de Lujan*, *Alonſo de Ojeda*, *Diego Marque*, *Gaſpar*, and *Beltran*. The moſt of them received the command of caravels, with the titles and ſalaries of captains. *Acoſta* was appointed *Alguacil Mayor*, or chief juſtice of the fleet; *Bernal Diaz de Piſa* as accountant general of the *Indies*; *Gomez Tello* was appointed treaſurer, but he did not join the fleet, and his place was filled by *Sebaſtian de Olano*. The choice of an aſtrologer was left to *Columbus*, with the intimation that *Fray Antonio de Marchena*, a *Franciſcan* friar, well ſkilled in aſtrology, and whoſe opinion had

had always been highly reſpected, appeared qualified to fill that ſituation. A note which ſeems to mean *Fray Juan Perez de Marchena*, guardian of *Rabida*, and makes me ſuppoſe, that by a ſlip of the pen, *Antonio* was written inſtead of *Juan*; this office, however, was not filled. The bachelor *Gil Garcia* was appointed lord chief juſtice; Doctor *Chanca* who practiſed at *Seville*, and was penſioned by the court, phyſician; *Fermin Zedo* was ordered to regulate and mark the boundaries of the land. A competent number of agriculturiſts, miners, carpenters, maſons, and handicrafts, furniſhed with all the neceſſary implements were engaged; but the greateſt part were armed warriors, with twenty horſemen only, namely, the forenamed lance cavalry of *Granada*. The novelty and magnificence of the preparation, the report of the quantity of gold, and the hopes of acquiring wealth and riches, allured ſo many to join the expedition, that the deſtined number was not only ſoon completed, (which was limited to a thouſand,) but alſo ſeveral perſons ſolicited permiſſion to embark, and to ſerve without pay. In my opinion,

opinion, the number engaged at *Seville*, amounted to twelve hundred, or thereabouts, and of those that united underhand, to about three hundred. The ships were abundantly provided with ammunition, provisions, several sorts of wares and commodities, with a quantity of toys, trinkets, and trifling things, for presents and barter with the *Indians*. Medicines were abundantly supplied with corroborating and restorative remedies in case of sickness or fatigue. A number of animals, partly domestic, and partly to be slaughtered, were taken aboard, with a sufficient quantity of corn, rice, vine branches, sugar-cane *, plants and seeds of different vegetables. In a word, nothing was omitted that promised to be useful in being planted or propagated in the new countries, and necessary to the colony for the continuation of the discoveries.

* It is evident that *Columbus* did not find this plant in his first voyage, otherwise he would not have carried it out from *Spain* with rice and vine branches, which afterwards were found in abundance on those islands. T. N.

XXV. The ſupply and arrangement of theſe articles, retarded the ſailing of the fleet much longer than was intended; for *Columbus* thought it prudent to lay in an abundant ſtore of every thing, in order to provide againſt every want, and to leave as little as poſſible to contingency. But the treaſury was too low to fit out all the ſhips that were deemed neceſſary, according to the meaſures at firſt digeſted; and *Soria*, the accountant general, refuſed to pay ſeveral of the bills which *Columbus* had drawn on him, for which, however, he was ſeriouſly reprimanded by their Majeſties, who were warmed with enthuſiaſm in proportion as they reflected on the magnitude of the expedition, more and more aſtoniſhed, to think that *Columbus* alone ſhould know, what no other mortal had been thought capable of knowing; they therefore commanded that he ſhould be treated with the greateſt reſpect, and obeyed in whatever he ſhould think proper, notwithſtanding they ſaw it was impoſſible to gratify his wiſhes immediately to the full extent. As many ſhips, however, were prepared, as

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were requiſite to carry the men, horſes, proviſions, and other articles indiſpenſably neceſſary, and it was reſolved to ſend the remainder in other veſſels after him. Thus ſatisfied, and inveſted with full powers as commander in chief by land and ſea, *Columbus* ordered three tranſports and fourteen caravals to be got ready. He aſſembled the fleet in the bay of *Cadiz*, and after all the crews had taken the oath of fidelity to their Majeſties, and obedience to the Admiral, the ſquadron ſet ſail on the 25th of September, a little before the break of day. *Columbus* ſteered to the *Canary* iſlands, and carefully avoided cape *S. Vincents*, or any other *Portugueſe* poſſeſſion, in order to conceal the deſtination of the voyage; the men and ammunition, were, however, in readineſs for battle, in caſe they ſhould meet a *Portugueſe* fleet.

XXVI. The conduct of the court of *Portugal* excited real ſuſpicion; two of the *Portugueſe* mariners, who had accompanied *Columbus* to *Liſbon*, were put under an arreſt. The King, *Don Juan*, immediately called a council

council at *Torres-Vedras*, and in conſequence of its advice, cauſed a conſiderable ſquadron to be fitted out, in order to take poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* diſcoveries. He concealed this deſign under the pretext of ſending the fleet to *Africa*, and requeſted permiſſion of their *Spaniſh* Majeſties to purchaſe ſome prohibited things in their kingdom, neceſſary for the expedition; entreating, at the ſame time, that their Majeſties would interdict their ſubjects from fiſhing beyond the Cape of *Bajador*, till the limits of the poſſeſſions of both kingdoms ſhould be fixed. It was *Ruy de Sande* that delivered theſe requeſts, which our court granted. As to the diſcoveries of *Columbus*, the meſſenger only mentioned the manner in which his Sovereign had received the Admiral, and the pleaſure with which he had heard the wiſhed for ſucceſs of his undertaking, and of having directed his courſe from the *Canaries* due weſt, adding that the King, his maſter, hoped that the ſame line would be purſued in future, without any deviation to the ſouth. A ſhort time previous to the arrival of *Ruy de Sande* at our court, our King and Queen, informed

of the plans and motions of the *Portugueſe* cabinet, had diſpatched *Lope de Herrera* to *Portugal*, to aſſure his Majeſty of their friendly diſpoſition to him, and to make ſeveral offers, if he would not fit out a fleet in ſearch of new diſcoveries, (as they had reaſon to ſuppoſe he intended,) and alſo reſtrain his ſubjects from doing ſo. In caſe that *Don Juan* would not accede to theſe ſolicitations, *Lope de Herrera* was inſtructed to demand a categorical declaration, which was thought abſolutely neceſſary, in order to know his ſentiments at once. The King anſwered that he would ſend ambaſſadors to our court for farther negociations, and that no veſſels ſhould ſail out within ſixty days after their arrival. Accordingly the royal councellor, Doctor *Petro Diez* and *Ruy de Pina*, his Secretary, arrived in *Spain*, in a diplomatic capacity. They inſiſted on the terms which *Sande* had already propoſed, that the parallel line of the *Canaries* ſhould be made the limit of the *Caſtilian* navigation, as the ſouthern ſeas and countries belonged to

to *Portugal**. They confirmed the royal promiſe given to *Herrera*, but demanded that the departure of our fleet ſhould likewiſe be ſuſpended, till it was determined for what quarter it ſhould be entitled to ſail.

XXVII. On the 14th of Auguſt, the ambaſſadors came to *Barcelona*, and *Columbus* had written that he intended to weigh anchor on the 15th of the ſame month; accordingly he dared not put off his departure any longer, eſpecially as the probable needy ſituation of the colony at *Navidad*, and the neceſſity of ſpeedily taking poſſeſſion of the weſtern countries, called for the moſt urgent diſpatch. This was not only announced to them, but alſo to their Sovereign, by a formal embaſſy, conſiſting of the prothonatory *Don Pedro de*

* *Portugal*, properly demanded a line drawn from the *Canaries* to weſt, as the limit of the diſcoveries of both nations, and to leave the *Spaniards* at liberty to purſue their diſcoveries to the north, and in a direct line to the weſt countries and iſlands, but that the navigation beyond that line to the ſouth, ſhould be left entirely to the *Portugueſe*. *Herrera*, Decad. I. lib. II. cap. 8. p. 48. T. N.

Ayala, and *Garcilopez de Carvajal*, brother to the Cardinal of *Santa Cruz*, biſhop of *Carthagena*. The pretended right of the *Portugueſe* to all the ſeas and countries ſouthwards of the *Canaries* was not admitted, becauſe the treaty of 1479, on which they founded theſe claims, extended only to the iſlands at that time in their poſſeſſion, and the ſouthern countries oppoſite to the coaſt of *Africa*. It was not the propoſed diviſion of the globe into two equal parts, north and ſouth, that could be appealed to as deciſive in this queſtion; it was the *Pope's bull* only, in which the navigation and diſcoveries of the two nations were laid down, viz. to the eaſt and weſt, a declaration conformable to the rights of both parties, as the claims of the *Portugueſe* to the iſlands of *Madeira*, the *Azores*, *Cape de Verde*, and the reſt ſituated near *Africa*, as well as the coaſts between *Bajador* and the *Cape of Good Hope*, were founded on having taken poſſeſſion of them firſt; *Spain*, of courſe, had the ſame right to all the territories weſtward of the papal demarcation, whether lying on the northern or ſouthern hemiſphere.

XXVIII.

XXVIII. During theſe negociations, the reſtitution of the countries of *Rouſillon* and *Cerdaigne* to the crown of *Aragon* was brought about, a hard and difficult taſk, which tended very much to encreaſe the authority and eſteem of King *Don Fernando*. When the King of *Portugal* was informed of it, he relinquiſhed his ſecret plans, in the dread of a rupture with ſuch a free and powerful Prince. He alſo declined to accept the propoſal of ſubmitting the diſpute in queſtion to the examination and deciſion of honeſt judges in *Portugal*, *Spain*, or the court of *Rome*, as *Don Juan* had juſt cauſe of apprehenſion that the deciſion would not be in his favour. He had little to hope from *Rome*, as he ſaw that the *Pope* remained firm to the diviſion which he had manifeſted in the bull of conceſſion, in defiance of the moſt preſſing ſolicitations to repeal or alter it. He therefore yielded to neceſſity, and choſe the ſafeſt means of diſſimulation, pretending, that he did not wiſh to fall out with the *Spaniſh* Monarch, but to ſettle the buſineſs in an amicable manner, as moſt conſonant to the mutual ties of blood, friendſhip, and peace,

The weſtern conqueſts of the *Spaniards* might be carried on without any moleſtation within the propoſed line of demarcation; but it did not ſeem equitable, however, to confine the navigation of the *Portugueſe* on the wide ocean to ſuch narrow bounds, which prevented their ſhips from ſailing a hundred leagues weſtward of their poſſeſſions.

XXIX. The difference was now compoſed without any difficulty. At *Tordeſſillas*, *Ruy de Souſa*, his ſon *Don Juan*, and *Arias de Almada*, the new ambaſſadors of *Portugal*, held a meeting with the *Spaniſh* deputies *Don Enrique Enriquez*, *Don Gutierre de Cardenas*, and *Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado*, and on the ſeventh of June 1494, they ſigned the famous treaty, which ratified the diviſion of the ocean between the two powers; the line of demarcation was fixed at three hundred and ſeventy leagues to the weſt of the iſlands of *Cape de Verde*. But in caſe the *Spaniſh* adventurers ſhould have diſcovered other iſlands or countries not ſo far to the weſt, as thoſe they had already touched on, previous to the 20th of the ſaid month, the diviſional line

line ſhould then begin at two hundred and fifty leagues only beyond theſe iſlands *. But this did not happen, however. It was reſolved, on both ſides, that the leagues ſhould be meaſured, and the degree of longitude determined accordingly; and if any countries ſhould be found within this limit, a tower, or pyramid, was to be erected, or marks placed along the line. In order to carry this reſolution into effect, it was ſettled, that one or two caravels ſhould be ſent by each party, with aſtronomers, pilots, and ſeamen, whoſe deciſion ſhould be obſerved by the monarchs and ſubjects of

* Our author has not expreſſed himſelf with ſufficient clearneſs and preciſion in the determination of the weſtern limits; the words of the treaty run thus: "The limit of the diſcoveries of both nations is to begin three hundred and ſeventy leagues beyond the iſlands of *Cape de Verde*, all the countries lying weſtward of them are to belong to *Spain*; the eaſtern diſcoveries to *Portugal*. But if the *Portugueſe* ſhould diſcover any land weſtward, within the firſt two hundred and fifty leagues, before the 20th of June 1494, it was to belong to them; but all the land lying one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the *Portugueſe* boundary is to belong to *Spain*. *Herrera*, p. 50. T. N.

both crowns, ſo that neither ſhould be permitted to make diſcoveries or traffic beyond their aſſigned boundary, though the *Spaniſh* ſhips ſhould be allowed to navigate freely through the eaſtern ocean, without departing from their uſual road. This treaty was acceded to by *Fernand Alvarez de Toledo*, and *Eſteban Vaz*, the ſecretaries, and ratified in the ſame year by the King and Queen of *Spain*, at *Arivalo*, on the 2d of July, and by *Don Juan* the Second, at *Setuval*, on the 5th of September. The caravels were never ſent, nor yet the meeting of the aſtronomers and men learned in nautical ſcience ever took place, which, according to a later agreement, was to have been held on the frontiers of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, in order to determine on the beſt mode of marking the demarcation; notwithſtanding, the terms of the treaty remained inviolable, and thus a diſpute was ſettled, which, in the beginning, carried all the appearance of being determined only by the ſword.

XXX. Such

XXX. Such bitter fruits are uſually produced by a perverſe habit to negociate without ſincerity, and to perplex and retard the negociations by animoſity and hoſtility. The conduct of *Portugal* was marked with both of theſe features, eſpecially the art with which *Ruy de Sande* endeavoured to conceal from our court the underhand views of his own, in ſending a caravel of diſcovery from *Madeira*, and three others which ſailed ſome time after, probably from the port of *Liſbon*. It is true, *Diez* and *Pina*, the two ambaſſadors, made an apology for it, under the pretext that the veſſel which had ſet out from *Madeira*, had ſailed without orders from the government, and that in order to ſtop her, the King had ſent three others in purſuit of her. But this was not ſufficient to remove the ſuſpicions of their *Caſtilian* Majeſties, and therefore they enjoined *Columbus* to be on his guard, leſt any foreign veſſel ſhould come too near our diſcoveries, and in caſe he ſhould find one or more in thoſe ſeas, to capture them, and to puniſh the perſons belonging to them with rigour. *Fonſeca* was likewiſe ordered to be on his watch, and if he

ſhould learn that a fleet was ſetting out from *Portugal*, that he ſhould diſpatch one doubly ſtronger after it. Providence, however, removed thoſe obſtacles which threatened to diſturb the peace of both kingdoms. The Admiral did not experience any ſuch diſagreeable incident during the whole of his voyage, and there was no farther rumour of any *Portugueſe* ſhips.

XXXI. *Columbus* arrived at the great *Canary* iſland ſeven days after his departure from *Cadiz*. He laid in water, wood, and ſeveral refreſhments, with ſwine, calves, goats, ſheep, hens, ſeveral plants, ſeeds of fruit trees, and other vegetables at *Gomera*. Here he furniſhed every ſhip with a chart, ſealed up in a packet, in which the courſe to the port of *Navidad* was laid down, with an injunction not to open them, unleſs they ſhould happen to be diſperſed by the winds, or any other accident, leſt any perſon ſhould become more accurately acquainted with the paſſage without neceſſity, or that it ſhould be communicated to the *Portugueſe*. On the 14th of October, the ſignal for ſailing was hove

hove out, and having reached the iſle of *Ferro*, he ſteered W. S. W. He ran in this direction about 800 leagues with a fair wind; but on the 2d of November he ordered the ſails to be furled, as he was perſuaded they were near land, in conſequence of the change of the winds, and the appearance of the atmoſphere.

XXXII. In reality, on the following morning, at break of day, they diſcovered an iſland, which he called *Dominica*, as it was Sunday, (*Domingo.*) The fleet approached, ſome other iſlands were diſcovered, ſtored with rank graſs, and trees full of leaves, with an immenſe number of parrots flying through the air, and hopping on the branches. *Columbus* ſailed round a conſiderable part of the iſland in order to find a convenient harbour, of which he began to deſpair, till one of the veſſels ſent for that purpoſe, found one, and on the following day joined the fleet again, which had already caſt anchor at the ſecond iſland, a little more diſtant to the north. The Admiral landed on this iſland, accompanied with a

number

number of his men, and called it *Mariga-lante*, after the name of the main ſhip, and took formal poſſeſſion of that Archipelagus for the crown of *Caſtile*. The abundance and variety of unknown plants, the trees in full bloom at ſuch a ſeaſon, and the diverſity of wild fruits, which it produced, excited much admiration, eſpecially the aromatic laurel*, the fruit of which, in taſte and ſmell, reſembles that of nutmeg, cinnamon and cloves together, though at that time the fragrancy of the leaves only was perceptible.

XXXIII. After they had ſailed along the northern coaſt of this iſland, another ſtill greater was obſerved to the north-weſt; they ſteered to the extremity of the ſouth ſide of it, which was terminated by a very high mountain, from the top of which ſeveral ſtreams ran down precipitately. It was the

* *Columbus* means the *Pimento-tree*, formerly found in abundance in the *Weſt-India* iſles, but at preſent it is only found on the larger ones, and even there it is ſcarce. Mr. *Brian Edwards* has deſcribed it with the ſame rapture with which the *Spaniards* beheld it. T. N.

famous

famous *Volcano* of *Guadaloupe*, for this name was then impoſed on it, after the convent of that name in *Eſtramadura*. The fleet ſteered along the coaſt upwards of two miles, in the ſucceſſive view of *Indian* cottages, the inhabitants of which fled in the utmoſt conſternation at the ſight of the ſhips. When they had caſt anchor, a number of the crews went on ſhore to take a nearer view of the iſland. They found many of the villages compoſed of from twenty to thirty cottages, formed of the trunks of trees, poles, branches and leaves, in the form of tents, diſpoſed in a circular ſhape, with an open area, interſected by covered walks. Their utenſils and veſſels evinced ſome progreſs in the arts of artificial induſtry. The clues and nets of cotton, the ſwinging beds, or hammocks, the bows and arrows with ſharp pointed bones, the gourd bottles, and earthen veſſels, were the moſt elaborate production of the *Haytites*. A higher degree of art was exhibited in the ſtructure of their houſes and ſhaded walks, a kind of looms in which they wove carpets, and two wooden ſtatues, with ſerpents tolerably

rably well engraved, writhing round their feet. A greater quantity of eſculencies, among others tame geeſe very like ours, and parrots of every kind, eſpecially the beautiful *Guacamayas*, to that moment unknown. They alſo found here, for the firſt time, the ſweet and fragrant *Anona*, or pine-apple*, one of the moſt delicious fruits of the *Indies*; but the moſt remarkable thing of all the examiners found, was a plate of iron, and the croſs timber of the poop of an *European* ſhip. *Fernando Columbus* conjectured that a ſtone, which in weight and colour reſembled iron, and of which ſome are found in thoſe iſlands, might have been miſtaken for iron ore. As to the croſs timber, they might have been

* Several *Weſt India* fruits were comprehended under this name, which are all remarkable for a pleaſing acid taſte, and refreſhing quality. *Annona muricata* is the largeſt, ſometimes a foot and more in length, with a ſnow-white pulp. The *Annana ſquameſa* is enveloped in ſcales, and in ſhape reſembles a pine nut, and has a very white pulp, which, from its exceſſive ſweetneſs, produces a nauſea. *Annona reticulata*, or cuſtard-apple, is ſhaped like a heart, of a dark green colour. T. N.

miſled

miſled by the ſame error. It was alſo poſſible that both might have been caſt on that ſhore from the colony of *Navidad*. Perhaps ſome of the fragments of the main ſhip, which had been loſt in the firſt voyage, or the wreck of ſome other veſſel in the weſtern ſeas, frequented by the *Spaniards* or *Portugueſe*, might have been wafted to *Guadaloupe*. In *Columbus*'s firſt voyage a piece of the maſt of a veſſel was ſeen one hundred and fifty leagues weſtward of the iſland of *Ferro*. The winds and tides, which had been able to drift theſe pieces ſo far, could drive theſe and others to the *Antilles*.

XXXIV. But the moſt aſtoniſhing and revolting ſight of all was, to behold in the liſt of edibles the heads and limbs of human beings recently ſlaughtered, which they boiled with the fleſh of animals, gnawed off the bones very neatly, preſerved them with care, and converted the ſkulls into drinking cups. From this circumſtance, it was conjectured that *Guadaloupe* was one of the iſlands inhabited by the cruel and ſanguinary *Caribs*. Their exceſſive ferocity filled them with

with diſtruſt and fear of the *Spaniards*, at whoſe approach they fled. They watched our men at a diſtance, as they rowed in boats to the ſhore; as ſoon as they ſaw them land, they ran in confuſion to the mountains; ſome women, however, came near, of their own accord, and ſought, as it were, the protection of the fleet. *Columbus* preſented them with little bells and glaſs beads, and cauſed them to be put on ſhore again, in hopes, that it would be the means of alluring the men, through the repreſentation of this little intercourſe, and the ſight of the toys; but he was diſappointed in this expectation. The women returned ſoon after, ſtript of all their gew-gaws, and anxiouſly entreated our people, by ſigns, to be permitted to accompany them. Several others, with ſome boys, had recourſe to the *Spaniards* who were gone to examine the iſland. It was collected from the geſtures and explanations of the *Indian* interpreters, that the *Caribs* ruled over many of the circumjacent iſlands, that they cruiſed about in large canoes, harraſſed the more peaceable inhabitants, made priſoners of them, eat the men and ſlept with the women;

women; that they uſed to emaſculate the boys, ſprung from the captive women, as well as thoſe they ſeized, and, after they had grown luſty and fat, devoured them at their feaſts*; and in reality evirated children were found. The exterior of theſe barbarians, anſwered very exactly to the barbarity of their morals, and their cuſtoms. Some of them who were brought on board excited the utmoſt diſguſt and averſion. Even in that ſituation, though ſecure from danger, the very ſight of them appalled the other *Indians*, from whom they differed, not only in their ſullen and angry looks and air, but alſo in the cuſtom common to men and women of wearing two very tight bands of cotton on each leg, one above, and the other below the calf. This ornament, which was then thought to be peculiar to the *Carribs*, was afterwards found to obtain among the more pacific inhabitants of *Jamaica*, and other iſlands, and likewiſe among many na-

* The exiſtence of *Cannibals*, ſo long doubted, has been confirmed by ſome modern travellers. Ten of Captain *Furneaux*'s men, a boat's crew, were murdered and ate by the *New Zealanders*. *Cook's Voyage*. T. N.

tions on the continent, as well on their arms as their legs, in different modes, however.

XXXV. I ſhall paſs over other remarks, which were made on natural objects, with little knowledge, and ſtill leſs accuracy. In a little diſtrict on this iſland, watered with many rivers, a rich fertile ſoil appeared with thick woods, in which *Diego Marque*, one of the captains of the ſhips, and ſix or ſeven of his crew, loſt their way, and after roaming about, almoſt in deſpair, they reached the coaſt by chance, which led them at laſt, after four days abſence, and quite worn out with fatigue, to the landing place. Parties of the crew were ſent in queſt of them, into ſeveral quarters. The largeſt of theſe bodies conſiſted of forty men, under the command of Captain *Alonſo de Ojeda*, who had orders at the ſame time to examine the nature of the iſland. A thouſand confuſed ideas aroſe in conſequence of this haſty examination. Among a thouſand plants, which they had never ſeen before, ſome of them exhaled the richeſt odours, or tickled the tongue, when taſted. The people, influenced

fluenced by the enthuſiaſm of *Columbus*, flattered themſelves with the hopes of having found ſpices, aromatics and perfumes. The Admiral had the unexpected pleaſure of receiving better information relative to the colony of *Navidad*; ſome of the females, reſcued from the bonds of ſlavery, were natives of the iſle of *Boriquen*, which had been diſcovered in the firſt voyage, at ſetting out from the gulph of *Samana*. They gave an account of the ſituation of their own, and other iſlands, which lay near *Eſpanola*. Their ſtatements exactly agreed with the conjectures which the Admiral had formed, and according to which he had directed his courſe in the preſent voyage.

XXXVI. *Columbus* weighed anchor on the 10th of November, and ſailed along the weſtern coaſt of *Guadaloupe*. To the north-weſt he diſcovered the iſlands of *Monſerrat*, *Santa Maria la Rotunda*, *Santa Maria la Anciqua*, *St. Martin*, with ſome others, at a little diſtance, to which it ſeems he gave no names. He took another courſe from *St. Martin's*, which he founded, on account

of the winds, and arrived at the iſland which we now call *Santa Cruz*. The aſpect of that iſland, and the appearance of a numerous population, invited him to ſend a boat with thirty men on ſhore. The inhabitants fled at the ſight with the utmoſt fright, except a few women, from about four to ſix, who remained, without any apparent fear, and ſeemed to implore aſſiſtance. When our men returned with theſe miſerable creatures, who it ſeems had fallen into the bloody hands of the *Caribs*, as priſoners, they deſcried a canoe, with four men and two women, immovably fixed at ſome diſtance from our ſhips. The *Indians* in it ſeemed deeply engaged in conſidering the ſtrange appearance of the ſquadron. But when they ſaw our boat unawares along ſide them, they endeavoured to eſcape. Seeing themſelves purſued, however, they returned, took up their bows, and winged their arrows with ſuch an aſtoniſhing velocity, that notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* covered themſelves with their ſhields, yet they did not eſcape ſome ſhafts, and they would have ſuffered ſtill more, had they not

ſpeedily overſet the canoe. The bold *Indians*, even in the water, menaced with their bows. They gained a ſhallow, and undauntedly continued to defend their liberty. Obliged at length to yield to ſuperior force, they were brought aboard the main ſhip. The appearance of theſe ſhocking ſavages was diſguſting and terrific; hideous features, eyes blackened round with ſoot, hair cut acroſs, in wild diſorder; the women, as well as the men, thought themſelves worthy of the name of *Carib*, which in their language ſignifies *Bold* and *Courageous*; at leaſt one of the captive women deſerved it, as ſhe diſcharged arrows with ſuch force and ſwiftneſs, as to pierce a ſhield. She alſo wounded one of our men ſo dangerouſly, that he died a few days after. On this occaſion, as *Pietro Martir* relates, it was obſerved that the fatal dart had been dipt in the juice of a poiſonous herb, a practice common to many barbarous nations.

XXXVII. The Admiral now navigated further, and diſcovered a cluſter of little iſles, lying near each other. He cauſed them

to be examined, and there were fifty of them numbered, *en paſſant*, very different from each other in ſize and aſpect. The greateſt of them received the name of *St. Urſula*, and the reſt the *Eleven Thouſand Virgins**. The flat and verdant ones, as well as thoſe dry and rocky, intermixed with barren hills, of various colours, raiſed ideas of their utility, the former of a fertile ſoil, and the latter of metals and precious ſtones. The cloſer examination of their contents was, however, poſtponed till another opportunity, as *Columbus* intended for the preſent to haſten as faſt as poſſible to the relief of the *Spaniards*, whom he had left at *Navidad*, and did not think it eligible to venture himſelf, and to tarry with the fleet in narrow ſeas. The great iſland of *Boriquen* immediately appeared to the weſt,

* Theſe are the preſent *Virginia* iſlands, lying eaſtward of *Porto-rico*, to which thoſe of *St. Thomas*, *Tortola*, and *St. Bartholomew* belong. Hitherto it was believed that the *Engliſh* navigators had given them this name in honour of Queen *Elizabeth*. See *Suckling*'s account of the *Virgin Iſles*, p. 10. T. N.

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the native country of almoſt all the priſoners, reſcued from the hands of the *Caribs*; the Admiral gave it the name of *S. Juan Baptiſta*. He ſteered along the ſouthern coaſt of it, which extended about forty leagues, and caſt anchor on the weſt ſide, in a bay that teemed with fiſh. During the two days the fleet remained in this bay, no perſon appeared. On the ſhore they obſerved a group of twelve pretty regular built houſes, in the form of a circle, beſides another houſe, which was diſtinguiſhed for its art and ſize. There was a ſpacious walk from the ſea ſhore to this little hamlet, formed of ſhady trees, interwove at the top like an arbour, lined with eſpalliers and reeds, wound round with beautiful plants and ſhrubs, aſcending in ſerpentine wreathes. A balcony was raiſed at the end of this delightful avenue, large enough to contain ten or twelve perſons. In all probability it was the ſummer-houſe of a perſon of diſtinction. The *Indian* interpreters drew a very flattering picture of the fertility, population, and high cultivation of the iſland; they alſo repreſented the inhabitants to be of a pacific

diſpoſition, under the government of a king, content with their paternal ſoil, which they never left for the purpoſe of diſturbing and harraſſing their neighbours. At the ſame time they were expert archers, trained to the bow, from the inceſſant invaſions of the *Caribs*, to whom they bore an inveterate hatred, ſo that as often as they ſeized any one of them, they cut him to pieces, and devoured him, through mere revenge, as otherwiſe they deteſted the cuſtom of eating human fleſh. At the end of two days, on the 22d, at day break, the fleet got under ſail, and before the night fell in, they ſaw *Eſpanola*, on the ſide of the bay of *Samana*; they had a ſafe paſſage to the harbour of *Monte Chriſti*, where they anchored on the 25th.

XXXVIII. *Columbus* ſent men on ſhore, as he was anxious to know whether a convenient ſituation might be found, for the eſtabliſhment of a colony near the river *del Oro*. They had not gone far on a marſhy ground, when they ſaw two dead bodies, one with a knot round his neck, his arms ſtretched acroſs, and tied to a poſt. The

next

next day, at a farther diſtance, they diſcovered two more in the ſame breathleſs ſtate, one of which was diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrong beard, which was a certain ſign that he was a *Spaniard*, as all the *Indians* were beardleſs. Theſe circumſtances raiſed very alarming ſuſpicions, which ſubſided a little, however, when the natives came to our men, in a peaceful and confident manner. On the 27th, the fleet arrived pretty late at *Cape Santo*; ſome guns were fired, but no anſwer was returned from the fort. About midnight ſome meſſengers arrived in a canoe from *Guacanagari*, with a preſent of two golden maſks for the Admiral; when they were queſtioned relative to the *Spaniſh* coloniſts, they intimated that they had quarrelled with each other, ſeized on women, ſeparated, and that ſome of them were dead. It was ſuppoſed that all the thirty-nine had paid the debt of nature, which was found to be really the caſe. *Columbus* did not entertain the leaſt doubt of this melancholy event, when he ſaw the little fort which he had aſſiſted in erecting, burnt to the foundation, all the dwellings deſtroyed, and the fragments

ments of chefts and garments ſcattered over the field, and eleven dead bodies, in their cloaths, ſtretched at a little diſtance from each other. All the cannon, with the muſquetry, were diſcharged at once, in hopes that the ſound might reach the ear of one or more, who had fled, perhaps, for ſafety to the buſhes, but in vain, not one approached the harbour. The next ſtep was to make large canals, at the expence of much labour, in order to draw the water from around the faſtneſs, in hopes that ſome gold might have been concealed in it, but they were equally diſappointed in this. The whole looked like a field plundered by an enemy, nothing of any value was to be ſeen; the entire diſtrict was deſerted by its inhabitants, ſome of whom were only obſerved here and there, lurking and lying in wait as it were.

XXXIX. The meſſengers were treated with friendſhip, preſents were given to them, and bells and other trifles thrown to thoſe who ventured to approach, ſo that by theſe means a number of them loſt all ſenſe of

fear,

fear, and diſtruſt. They unanimouſly declared the outrageous conduct of our coloniſts with reſpect to the women, their inſatiable thirſt for gold, and the conteſts and diſputes, which often ended in blows. In one of theſe quarrels the death of a certain man, called *James*, happened. Some of them had fled into the interior of the country, and others ſought the villages. *Arana*, who had remained in the fortreſs with a few men, moſtly ſick, had been aſſaulted unawares by *Caonabo*, a powerful *Cazique* of the province of *Cibao*, with an innumerable body of people, who had ſet the fortreſs and the dwellings of the Chriſtians on fire. *Guacanagari* they ſaid could not prevent it, notwithſtanding he haſtened, according to their account, with a number of his people to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, but was defeated in his way. In fact the reſidence of the *Guacanagari* was found to be burned to aſhes, and a number of his vaſſals wounded. The *Spaniards* could not draw any more particular accounts out of them, and it evidently appeared that the ſcattered *Spaniards* fell a ſacrifice to their licen-

licentiouſneſs and unwarrantable behaviour. It was underſtood that thoſe who had fled into the interior of the country had ſhared the ſame fate, as anxious probably to diſcover the gold mines of *Cibao*, they had encroached on the dominions of the *Cazique Caonabo*, and provoked the reſentment of him and his ſubjects. It alſo appeared probable, that the attack on the fort of *Navidad*, had been acceded to by the *Cazique* of the province, which lay immediately weſt of the dominions of *Guacanagari*, called *Marieni* or *Marien*. Such was the unanimous ſtatement of the generality of the *Indians*. The want of an interpreter rendered it impoſſible to arrive at a ſatisfactory detail of the whole, for the natives underſtood but a few words of the *Spaniſh* language, and our people had left the *Haytites* behind them in *Spain*, who had rendered them ſuch eſſential ſervice as druggermen in their firſt voyage. Doctor *Chanca* ſtates that the Admiral had only brought out ſeven *Indians* with him from *Seville*, five of whom had died in the paſſage, and that he had put one of the ſurvivors on ſhore at *Samana*, the firſt bay

that

that he reached near *Eſpanola*; after he had dreſſed him out and preſented him with ſome toys, and admoniſhed him to tell his countrymen what wonderful things he had ſeen in *Spain*, and to perſuade them to love, and render every ſervice in their power to the Chriſtians. The only *Indian* that remained in the fleet was a *Lucayan*, who, it is true, underſtood ſomething of the language of the *Haytites*, but not ſufficiently to explain their diſcourſe fully.

XL. The Admiral deemed this diſtrict to be diſaſtrous, and intended to ſeek out for a better harbour; for this purpoſe the coaſt was examined on both ſides. Captain *Melchor Maldanado* was diſpatched with his caraval to the eaſt ſide. He had ſcarce advanced three leagues, when he received a meſſage from *Guacanagara*, who requeſted him to come on ſhore, and viſit him at a contiguous place. He found him in his ſwinging-bed, apparently ſick, ſurrounded by ſeven women in as many beds. He confirmed the accounts already communicated with

with reſpect to *Caonabo*, againſt whom he ſaid he had fought without ſucceſs, and in conſequence of which he had the misfortune to be wounded in the thigh, which he ſhewed wrapped up in a cotton bandage. He preſented the Captain, and the chief perſons who accompanied him, with ſeveral pieces of gold, and expreſſed an anxious deſire of ſeeing the Admiral, who, as ſoon as he was informed of this wiſh, waited on him with a ſplendid retinue. *Guacanagari*, with tears in his eyes, lamented the fate of the *Spaniards*, and among the demonſtration of his friendſhip, preſented him with girdles of artificial workmanſhip, a cap, embelliſhed with jewels, and three gourd bottles filled with grains of gold, to the amount of about four marks. All theſe manifeſtations did not tend to diminiſh the opinion entertained of his duplicity. His lying a-bed, and his illneſs, were looked on as merely deceptive; and in fact, when the ſurgeon of the fleet, in the preſence of Doctor *Chanca*, unfolded his leg, not the leaſt trace of a wound or bruiſe was viſible. The Admiral prudently

affected

affected to believe the whole, carried him aboard, and preſented him with various toys, and diſmiſſed him the ſame day, filled with aſtoniſhment, chiefly at the ſight of the horſes. A number of *Spaniards* were of opinion that he ought to be arreſted as a priſoner, and they were ſtill more confirmed in this opinion, from an accident that happened the following night. Several *Indians* came in canoes to carry on barter; amongſt others, a brother of *Guacanagari*'s. This Prince ſpoke with ten of the women, reſcued from the *Caribs*, who ſoon after, during the ſtillneſs of the night, left the fleet clandeſtinely, and ſwam aſhore. Boats were ſent after them, as ſoon as they were miſſed, but they had got ſo far a head, ſo that only four of them were retaken, juſt as they were going aſhore, which was only half a league from the anchorage. On the following morning the diſtrict and the village of the *Cazique* were deſerted, a circumſtance which encreaſed the ſuſpicion conceived, and there were many *Spaniards* who inſiſted that he ſhould be purſued, and if taken, puniſhed.

XLI. But

XLI. But the Admiral rejected the evil ſuggeſtions of paſſion, that eaſily renders any appearance of guilt a ſufficient proof of it. He was alſo apprehenſive that ſuch a precipitate mode of proceeding would throw the whole iſland into ſuch a ferment, as to drive the inhabitants to arms, or at leaſt render them averſe to the reception of chriſtianity, and the authority of the *Spaniſh* government, if he ſhould arreſt one of their rulers. On the other hand, he wiſhed to regain their confidence and favour, which he conceived would be uſeful in every reſpect, eſpecially in laying the foundation of a colony in tranquillity. Accordingly he diſpatched Captain *Maldanado*, at the head of three hundred men, a ſecond time in ſearch of the *Cazique*, with directions at the ſame time to examine the ſtate of the country, the nature of the ſoil, and the ſituation of the harbour towards the eaſt. For it was now time to land the men, cattle, proviſions, and other things. *Maldanado* traverſed the coaſt all the way to the diſtrict of *Yague*, without finding any place ſuited to the plantation of a colony, as the ſoil was low and fenny, and deſtitute

of

of ſtones and other materials requiſite in building, though there was no want of good water and ſafe harbours. Among the latter his attention was particularly taken with that of *Bayaha*, which he called *Puerto Real*, (Port Royal) on account of its excellency. At a little diſtance from this haven they ſaw a cluſter of about thirty houſes, regularly built, ſtanding round one in the middle, which was loftier, and more ſpacious than the reſt. It was of a circular form, thirty-two long paces in diameter. The ceiling was wainſcotted, and ornamented with party-coloured reeds interwove, and diſpoſed with admirable art. As the *Spaniards* approached, an *Indian* of a grave aſpect, with a hundred warriors drawn up in battle array, ſtood ready to defend it, but after a ſignal of peace had been given, they relinquiſhed their menacing poſtures, and appeared ready to enter into a negociation, by which the *Spaniards* learned this *Indian* Chief was the *Cazique* of that diſtrict, and not *Guacanagari*, who it ſeems, according to them, had retired into the mountains in this quarter.

XLII. Captain *Maldanado* returned with this intelligence to the fleet, which ſailed on the 7th of December from *Navidad* to *Monte Chriſti*. The Admiral, in conſequence of the information he had received, reſolved to ſteer towards the eaſt, with an intention of eſtabliſhing a colony lower down, at the harbour of *Plata*. Within five leagues of this port he came to the harbour of *Gracia*, or *Martin Alonſo*, where he was detained for ſome time by contrary winds, which rendered his navigation to the deſtined point very difficult and troubleſome. This diſtrict did not anſwer his expectation, as the river was ſhallow; he therefore ſteered three leagues back, where he found a deeper one, which fell into the ſea, at the weſtern ſide of a tongue of land, where it formed a very ſpacious port, but expoſed to the north-weſt winds. The whole fleet came to anchor in this haven, and began to unlade in the latter end of December. This place was found extremely well calculated for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, a fine champaign country, with a village within gun-

gun-ſhot of the river. A quantity of ſtones were found, with convenient ſituations for aqueducts to divert the water at pleaſure. The back was guarded with impenetrable woods; a rock raiſed its head below the harbour, which might be eaſily crowned with a fortreſs; the ſurrounding ſea ſwarmed with fiſh, the ſoil was fertile, and a little higher up a beautiful extenſive plain ſtretched itſelf along the banks of the river, and according to the ſtatement of the *Indians*, this verdant mead reached to *Cibao*. *Columbus* laid the foundation of a town in this place, in the name of the moſt Holy Trinity, which was his own expreſſion, which in honour of the *Catholic* Queen was called *Iſabella*. Judges and Magiſtrates were appointed. *Pedro Fernandez Coronel* was made Chief Juſtice, and *Antonio de Torres*, brother of the Prince *Don Juan*'s wet-nurſe, was inveſted with the command of the fort. On the 6th of January, 1494, which was the feſtival of the Epiphany, in a chapel already erected, a ſolemn maſs was celebrated by thirteen prieſts. The public build-

ings were carried on with the utmoſt rapidity; they were compoſed of free-ſtone. The private houſes were formed of wood, and covered with graſs or leaves, and raiſed with the ſame activity. At the ſame time ſeveral ſorts of ſeeds were ſown, which ſhot up, as it were, ſpontaneouſly. The neighbouring *Indians*, highly pleaſed, were filled with admiration, and diſplayed on every occaſion the higheſt reſpect for the *Spaniards*. They aſſiſted, ſerved, and obeyed them, and parted with their aliments and utenſils for any trifle our people pleaſed to offer them.

BOOK V.

I. THE ſame zeal which inſpired the Admiral to lay the foundation of the colony, encouraged him to find out and provide for every poſſible means of raiſing it to a flouriſhing and proſperous ſtate. His firſt care was to ſend out a caravel, with an order to navigate round the iſland, and to ſurvey its coaſts and boundaries. Of the interior face of the country, the qualities of the ſoil, and natural productions of it, he endeavoured to inform himſelf by queſtions, which he frequently put to the natives. He even learned to a degree of certainty that the famous province of *Cibao*, and its rich gold mines, lay at the diſtance of two or three days march. Such pleaſing intelligence kindled the moſt lively joy in the breaſts of our *Spaniards*, but this joy was embittered by a ſudden diſtemper, which ſeized on moſt of them. A voyage of three months nearly, living all the time

after their arrival on ſalt proviſions, in part rancid, ſtale and corrupt food, the change of climate to which they were not accuſtomed, and the difference of air and water, brought on that kind of fever, which they called *Ceciones*. The diſeaſe, however, did not long affect them, as it was of a ſhort duration, and not of a very malignant nature, ſo that there was no want of labourers to carry on their erections, nor of ſoldiers to explore the country. So early as in the month of January, a number of habitations being ready, they began to encompaſs the town with a ſtone wall, and in that time two expeditions were alſo prepared, for the diſcovery of the gold mines, under the command of two gallant young men, *Gorvalan* and *Ojeda*.

II. The number of troops under each commander, amounted to fifteen. They marched to the ſouth, and travelled about twenty leagues in ſix days. The two firſt days they paſſed through an uninhabited diſtrict, in a troubleſome circuitous manner; after which they came to a hollow paſſage, which

was

was very difficult to paſs. Having at length reached a level ground, they croſſed the *Yaque*, (which flows weſtward through an extenſive plain, exceedingly fertile and pleaſant) and continued their career, but were often interrupted through the officiouſneſs of the iſlanders. They found themſelves at laſt in a high chain of mountains, which runs along the iſland in the middle of the province of *Cibao*, which name ſignifies *Stony*, on account of the quantity of flint ſtone with which it abounds; a healthy country, devoid of any noxious humidity, or ſtagnant waters. Theſe mountains gave birth to innumerable rivers, great and ſmall, which flowed in ſeveral directions through the pleaſant vallies and fields, and might be ſaid in general to roll over golden ſand, with which theſe mountains abound. The *Indians* collected thoſe golden grains in the moſt artleſs manner, by making a dam with their hands, taking out a handful of ſand with their left, and picking out the glittering ore with their right. Such was the mode in moſt of the places through which the *Spaniards* paſſed, to whom the natives brought all the gold

they could gather. When our two Captains returned with ſuch ſamples of what they were ardently in purſuit, the Coloniſts, whoſe ſpirits were very much depreſſed, partly through ſickneſs, and partly through the fatigue of labour, began to reſume a little hope and courage. For many of them, particularly thoſe of the lower order, began to be very much diſheartened. They had joined the expedition through the enthuſiaſtic hopes of finding even the ſhores heaped with gold. But diſappointed and diſpirited by the accidents incident to ſuch undertakings, as if nothing was able to ſatisfy their ſordid expectations; they now began to diſtruſt the moſt flattering and favourable accounts. The Admiral, ſolicitous to raiſe their ſpirits once more by the ſight of the gold mines, reſolved to go in perſon to *Cibao*, and to eſtabliſh a reſidence for the *Spaniards* in that quarter, as ſoon as the walls of the town were finiſhed, and the ſick, who were in a ſtate of convaleſcence, recovered.

III. Ante-

III. Antecedent to all things, however, he thought it adviſable to diſpatch thirteen ſhips to *Spain*, in order to carry home a report of the ſtate of the colony, and a liſt of the articles he wanted for the maintenance of it. He depicted the beauty and fertility of the country, beyond any other beneath the ſun, particularly the happy ſituation of it, peculiarly favourable to the growth of corn and wine; in this reſpect he had no heſitation in ſaying, that it rivalled *Sicily* and *Andaluſia*. He deduced this opinion from the rapid vegetation of *European* ſeeds and plants, eſpecially wheat, vines, and ſugar-cane, which ſprung up in the fulleſt luxuriancy. He was perſuaded that ſpices and aromatics would be found in abundance, becauſe independent of ſeveral ſorts of peper, he diſcovered the aromatic laurel, the ſecond bark of which he fancied to be the real cinnamon. He expreſſed the moſt lively ſatisfaction, when he touched on the rich gold mines, in which he hoped to find, in the courſe of a ſhort time, incalculable treaſures. At the ſame time *Fray Boil*, *Sebaſtian de Olano*, and ſome others,

others, wrote on the ſame flattering ſubjects, and their accounts were confirmed by ſome reſpectable perſons, particularly *Juan Aguado*, *Maldanado Gorvalan*, who returned with *Torres*, commander of the homeward-bound fleet. *Columbus* ſent by this ſquadron the gold he had received in *Cibao*, and what he had gained in barter with the *Haytites*, with ſpecimens of fruits and other rare things, and alſo ſome *Caribbean* men, women, and children, that they might be inſtructed in *Spain*, and afterwards employed as interpreters. The inhabitants of all the iſlands hitherto diſcovered, ſeemed to underſtand each other, though it was obſerved that there was a conſiderable diverſity of dialect, not only amongſt the different iſlanders, but even in the ſeveral provinces, and little diſtricts of *Eſpanola*. The *Caribs*, who uſed to traverſe all theſe iſlands, appeared to him to be the beſt acquainted with thoſe different modifications of ſpeech, and peculiarly calculated to be inſtructed. Accordingly the Admiral intended to employ a number of them as interpreters and inſtruments, for diſſeminating, by degrees, inſtruction and religion over the diſcovered terri-

territories, perſuaded that the doctrines and converſation of Chriſtians would eaſily wean them from their corrupt inclinations and bad morals. And as a puniſhment for their inhuman cuſtoms, he thought proper to employ them as ſlaves in the ſervice of the colony; a meaſure of great importance, calculated in part to gain the affection of the leſs rude *Indians*, and partly to ſave the crown a conſiderable expence, which in the beginning it would be neceſſary to lay out in the ſupply of victuals, iron tools, garments, young plants, beaſts of burthen, all kind of cattle, and domeſtic animals. This drain was to be conſtantly ſupplied, till their ſpecies (of which none exiſted on the new diſcovered iſlands) were ſufficient to keep up a competent ſtock. All theſe articles could be ſupplied by the *European* Merchants, on their own account and riſk, in order to exchange them for *Caribbean* ſlaves, whom the inhabitants of *Iſabella* would bring to the harbour, luſty docile ſlaves, who would turn out to be of more uſe, perhaps, than thoſe to be brought from *Africa*. Duties could alſo be impoſed on wares ſent

to

to *Spain*, which would ſwell the profits of the King's Exchequer.

IV. However highly the King and his conſort appreciated the advice of the Admiral, and much as they were convinced of the utility of his plan, yet their compaſſionate feelings induced them to ſuſpend the performance of that project; and they adviſed *Columbus* rather to endeavour to bring over the *Caribs*, as well as the other iſlanders, to Chriſtianity, by mild perſuaſion and gentle means. But the Admiral, who did not duly reflect on the turpitude of a traffic in human fleſh, generally introduced to the diſgrace of human kind, only looked to the advantages of the crown, and the ſucceſsful progreſs of his undertakings. He knew that the equipment of the ſeventeen ſhips had exhauſted almoſt all the reſources of the mother country, and ſcarce any means were left to aſſiſt him in what he ſtood in need of. The colony conſiſted of about a thouſand men, whoſe exiſtence entirely depended on *Spain*. The medicines and aliments brought out had been conſumed in conſequence

quence of the ſickneſs with which they had been viſited. A large quantity of the wine had leaked through the tons in the courſe of the voyage, ſo that little was left. Since the ſalt meat became unfit to eat, there was alſo a great ſcarcity of that article. Other food daily decreaſed; a number of men that were to be equipped wanted arms. There were only twenty-four horſes, though a conſiderable number in addition were required, as the chief ſtrength and ſuperiority of the *Spaniards* depended on their cavalry, becauſe of the terror which the ſight of them ſpread among the ignorant *Indians*. *Columbus* repreſented the neceſſity of a ſpeedy ſupply of this race, and ſeveral other things, but he chiefly ſolicited an immediate ſtore of corn and grain, meat, wine, and medicine for the ſick. At the ſame time he recommended ſeveral of his principal companions, but, at the ſame time, made loud complaints of others, on account of their negligence and diſobedience.

V. When the fleet ſet ſail on the 2d of February, he forwarded all the labours requiſite

quiſite to complete the erection of the town, in order that he might have the pleaſure of ſeeing it finiſhed before he ſet out on his intended expedition to *Cibao*. This, however, contrary to his expectation, was retarded, in conſequence of a fit of ſickneſs that befel him, and partly through a mutiny that was excited during his illneſs by a party of malcontents, at the inſtigation of *Bernal Diaz de Piſa*, the head accountant. They preferred, without loſs of time, a formal charge of grievances againſt the Admiral, and formed a plot to ſet out for *Spain* with five ſhips, which the Admiral had kept in the harbour. *Columbus* ſoon recovered from his illneſs, and when he had diſcovered the nefarious intrigue, he arreſted *Diaz de Piſa*, the ringleader, in order to ſend him, with a proceſs exhibited againſt him, to *Caſtile*, and puniſhed the chief accomplices. By ſuch a rigorous execution of the laws, and by the orders he gave to remove all the furniture and ammunition out of the ſhips to the main one, under the care of perſons on whoſe fidelity he could depend, he nipped the evil in the bud, and extinguiſhed the

ſparks

ſparks of future miſchief. As ſoon as he had eſtabliſhed a ſalutary government in the town, he ſet out on the 12th of March for the gold mines, with the greateſt part of his men, to the amount of about four hundred, with the horſes, and a number of *Indians*.

VI. About four leagues after his outſet, he had to encounter the very difficult paſſage through the mountains, which had impeded thoſe that made the firſt expedition; he called it *Puerto de los Hidalgos*, (the paſs of the noblemen) becauſe ſome of that claſs led the way through it. When they had gained the top, they were rewarded with an extenſive proſpect of the renowned plain which extended on both ſides to a conſiderable length; for it began at the bay of *Samana*, and ran to *Monte Chriſti*, betwixt two chains of mountains, from whence it lay parallel with *Cape François*. The breadth is various, from two, three, to five miles. It is watered by a vaſt number of rivulets, in various diſtances from each other, which by degrees unite and form ſeveral conſiderable rivers, which fall into the ſea at the weſtern

and

and northern coaſt. The whole flat reſembles a beautiful garden, interſected with canals, formed by wiſe hands, for the fructification and embelliſhment of it. The canals are bordered with walks in perpetual verdure, and betwixt them an infinite variety of views and enchanting proſpects, groves, gardens full of green herbs, enamelled meads, buſhes and tilled fields were ſprinkled round in the gayeſt confuſion. This pleaſant plain was honoured with the name of *Vega-real*, (the royal field) by the Admiral, who was enamoured with its pictureſque charms. The *Spaniards* had only five leagues to travel on the border of this delightful vale, nevertheleſs they were two days in accompliſhing this little march, partly on account of the rivers which interrupted their route, and partly on account of the viſits which they paid to ſeveral places. *Columbus* intended to avail himſelf of theſe opportunities of impreſſing the *Indians* with an idea of the ſuperior power of the *Europeans*, in order to prepare their minds for a ready ſubmiſſion to our countrymen.

men. For this purpoſe he cauſed his troops to march from *Iſabella* in ſquadrons, with flying colours, to the ſound of trumpets, and in this military array they marched through the villages. Moſt of the aſtoniſhed inhabitants came flying to them, ready to offer all they poſſeſſed in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, others fled in fear and conſternation, and the reſt encloſed themſelves in their cottages, and barricaded their doors with poles and reeds.

VII. When the little army had reached the mountains, they marched very ſlowly, between hills and mountains, which encreaſed in roughneſs and ſteepneſs in proportion as they advanced. The ſurface of the ground was generally bare, covered with blue ſtones, barren hills, that could ſcarcely cheriſh a little ſhort graſs, but the vallies and low grounds, with which the country abounded, were rich and fertile. The *Cibaes* received the *Spaniards*, and their *Guamiquina*, or great lord as they called him, with great affection. As ſoon as they were informed of their arrival, they expected them

with great anxiety, came to meet them, and preſented victuals, gold duſt, and gold grains of various ſize. Thoſe that offered the latter, received glaſs beads, and other trifles in return, with which they were ſo highly pleaſed, that they ran immediately to a rivulet, and returned with more gold; they gave two grains of gold, which weighed upwards of an ounce, for a bell, on which they ſet an ineſtimable value. The Admiral had not ſeen any gold grains of this ſize before, except one, which *Guacanagari* had given him, and which he ſent by *Antonio de Torres* to the *Spaniſh* monarch. He was now informed by the *Indians*, that in the diſtance of half a day's journey, gold grains were often found of the weight of five and twenty pounds. He received the ſame accounts by *Juan de Lujan*, a Knight of *Madrid*, whom he had diſpatched with ſome ſoldiers to examine a part of the province, which, according to the ſtatement of the *Indians*, began at a little river called *Cibu*, two leagues ſouthward of the river *Yaque*, and ran on in a direct line, nearly to the oppoſite coaſt, and ſtill farther to the eaſtern and weſtern ſide, ſo that it

was

eſtimated to be larger than the kingdom of *Portugal*. A Cazique reigned over this territory of the name of *Caonabo*, very much dreaded on account of his ſavage diſpoſition and power. The *Spaniards*, however, placed a very ſlight value on the ſtrength of the natives, as they were ſo ſtupid as to look on the *Spaniards* as deſcendants of heaven, and ſo indolent and inactive, that notwithſtanding they had entire foreſts of cotton, they went naked, and neglected to provide any ſhelter againſt the cold air of the mountains, or the heat of the vallies, both of which were in extremes, according to the diſpoſition of the ſeaſons. *Columbus* laid a plan to ſubjugate them, and to avail himſelf of the rich productions of their clime. For independent of their gold mines, he diſcovered ſpice plants, and aromatics, different from thoſe already known, with a vein of copper, and traces of yellow amber, an article of great value at the time, and much uſed. In order to put his plan into execution, he cauſed a ſolid houſe of wood and clay to be erected at the river *Janique*, on a little pleaſing eminence, about

eighteen leagues from *Iſabella*. He gave it the name of *Saint Thomas*, and left fifty-ſix men and ſome horſes there, under the command of *Pedro Margarit*, and on the 29th of March returned to the town.

VIII. He had ſcarce repoſed himſelf from the fatigues of his travel, when he was informed, by a meſſenger, that the *Indians* had withdrawn from the country he had juſt viſited, and that *Caonabo* evinced an intention to ſurprize the fort. Though he did not pay much attention to theſe communications, as he knew the cowardice of the natives, and that the very ſight of the horſe ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they dare not approach, yet he diſpatched ſixty men with ammunition and proviſions, and ordered them to take their way through ſuch places where the rivers could be forded with eaſe, which he knew from experience was the caſe, with reſpect to the *Yaque*, and another river running ſouthwards, which he called *del Oro*, or the *Gold River*, on account of ſome grains of gold found in it. After he had diſpatched this party, he reſolved to leave in the

the town, only the ſick, and workmen indiſpenſably neceſſary, and to ſend the reſt about the iſland from the dominions of one *Cazique* to another, in order to ſpread the dread and terror of the power of the *Spaniards* as wide as poſſible, to accuſtom his men to the country, and the food which it produced, and to lengthen out the conſumption of their own proviſions; a bold reſolution, but indiſpenſibly neceſſary, for the ſecurity and maintenance of the coloniſts, who had already experienced the want of *European* nutriment. It is true, they had as yet ſome wheat, wine, and biſcuit, but not ſufficient to laſt them for any time; of theſe each man's ration was weighed and meaſured, ſo that they might be diſtributed in equal ſhares amongſt all, without any diſtinction of rank or quality, for the purpoſe of removing all murmurs and complaints on that ſcore.

IX. This diminution was ſomewhat relieved by the extraordinary fertility of the ſoil. On the 30th of March, which was

eaſter day, one of the agriculturiſts preſented ſome ears of wheat, which had been ſown in the latter end of January. Herbs, pulſe, and greens ſprung up in three days, and were fit for the table in five and twenty. Of the common vines which grew wild, ſome were tranſplanted and pruned, and already yielded palatable grapes. Even our own vines put forth leaves in ſeven days after they were planted, and were hung with unripe grapes twenty-five days after they were committed to the earth. The ſugar-cane ſhot up in ſeven days. The peas exceeded thoſe in ſize that were ſown, and the cucumbers and melons taſted very well. Theſe, indeed, were flattering ſpecimens of the mildneſs of a clime, and the fertility of a ſoil, where the graſs, herbs, and ſhrubs flouriſhed in unfading verdure, and all the livelieſt hues, where the trees bore delicious fruit twice a year, in ſpring and autumn. But they were mere ſpecimens. For the erection of the town, the expedition to *Cibao*, and the continuance of the fever, left a few hands only to cultivate the ground.

ground. And it was on this account that the *Spaniards* became uneaſy, dejected, and longed after their native country again, except a few who had firmneſs to reſiſt the effects of ſuch incidents. Their diſtreſs and dejection were augmented by the ſtrictneſs of the Admiral, who compelled them to work at the public buildings, to cut canals, erect mills, and to convey other things requiſite for the ſupport and maintenance of the eſtabliſhment. There was none permitted to be idle, even the noblemen, who had no ſervants, often found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of grinding their ſcanty portion of wheat themſelves with hand-mills. Sometimes the ſick happened to want attendance and nouriſhment, and he that committed a fault, was puniſhed by the diminution or deprivation of his uſual allowance. Theſe gave riſe to a thouſand complaints and murmurs againſt the inexorable rigour of the Admiral.

X. *Columbus*, to prevent the dangers which menaced, ſent almoſt all the ſoldiers, and other perſons that were in a good ſtate of

health, and not fit for labour, in all about four hundred men, and ſixteen horſemen, on foraging parties; he appointed to the command of the whole, *Pedro Margarit*, a noble *Catalonian*, and Knight of the order of *St. Jago*, in whoſe prudence he could repoſe great confidence, and whom he looked on as peculiarly fitted for the diſcharge of ſo arduous an undertaking. He ordered him to traverſe all the provinces, particularly *Cibao*, to note and examine all the nations, climes, and their productions, to form the troops always together, divided into three columns, to maintain the ſtricteſt diſcipline, in order to prevent all conteſts betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, and eſpecially the complaints of the latter againſt the former. He enjoined him to treat the natives with kindneſs, according to the will of their *Spaniſh* Majeſties, to procure what victuals he thought neceſſary by barter only, and if they were not to be procured in that manner, to gain them in the leaſt offenſive way poſſible. He ordered *Caonabo* and his brother only to be ſeized by force or cunning, as accounts were every day received

of

of the ferocity of the character of this *Cazique*. He alſo ordained that the noſe and ears of thoſe ſhould be cut off, who ſhould ſteal any thing of the King's property, as ſome had done, in the expedition to the gold mines. The army marched out on the 9th of April, under the command of the gallant Captain *Ojeda*, who was to reſign it at *Cibao* to *Margarit*, whom he was to ſucceed as Commandant of *St. Thomas*. The Admiral having releaſed himſelf from this care by that meaſure, devoted all his attention to the regulation and concerns of his new town, and in preparing himſelf for the diſcovery and conqueſt of the continent, leſt another Chriſtian prince ſhould ſnatch that honour and prize out of his hand. He thought this the more urgent, as their *Caſtilian* Majeſties laid their commands on him to make this object his chief care, from the ſuſpicions which they entertained of the underhand intentions of the court of *Liſbon*. Nor were the following incidents, which happened ſome days before, able to check his meaſures and purſuits.

XI. Some

XI. Some *Indians* reſident on the banks of the *Gold River*, ſtole the garments of three *Spaniards* on their return from *Cibao*, under the artful pretext of carrying them acroſs the river; the *Cazique* took them, it is true, from the thieves, but refuſed to reſtore them to the owners, or to puniſh the criminals. *Ojedo*, fired with rage, cauſed the ears of an *Indian* to be cut off, ſeized the *Cazique*, with his brother and couſin, and ſent them under an eſcort to the town. A neighbouring *Cazique* came to intercede for the priſoners, in hopes that in conſequence of the good offices he had rendered to our people, his requeſt would be granted. The Admiral treated him with great complaiſance, but remained inexorable to his interceſſion. He ordered the criminals to be conducted to the public place with their hands tied, where ſentence of death was pronounced on them by the common crier. The good *Cazique*, however, began afreſh to ſolicit their pardon with tears, and promiſes that in future they ſhould never commit ſuch a crime again; at laſt his entreaties prevailed, and they were pardoned, and reſtored to their liberty. In the mean time

time one of the horſemen arrived from *St. Thomas*, and reported, that paſſing through the village which belonged to the impriſoned *Cazique*, he ſaw five of the foot ſoldiers ſurrounded by the *Indians*, and in imminent danger, but that he had relieved them by the means of his horſe and his lance, and put four hundred *Indians* to flight, ſome of whom he had wounded. The Admiral imagined that by ſuch examples and warnings, the country might be tranquillized for the preſent, ſo that his continuation of the regulations of the colony, and preparations for the expedition, went on without interruption. He took particular care to erect mills, as the want of them was very ſeverely felt by the inhabitants of *Iſabella*. He committed the government of the iſland to a council, and appointed his brother *Don Diego* preſident of it, and father *Fray Boil*, *Pedro Fernandez Coronel*, *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, and *Juan de Lujan*, Counſellors. He left the two greateſt ſhips in the harbour, and ſet out on his voyage of diſcovery on the 24th of April, with the *Nina*, or *Santa Clara*, *S. Juan* and *Cardera*.

XII. After

XII. After he had ſailed along the northern coaſt of *Eſpanola* eaſtward to the cape of *St. Nicolas*, he ſteered to *Cuba*, and began to ſail along the ſouthern coaſts; when he had made about twenty leagues, he caſt anchor in a port, remarkable for its ſafety, depth, and ſpaciouſneſs, which he had juſtly named *Grande*, (Great) a name which was afterwards changed into that of *Guantanamo*. Two ſmall houſes ſtood on the ſhore, and a good ſtore of food was placed by the ſide of them, ſuch as *Iguanas*, the greateſt delicacy amongſt the *Indians*, the *Utias*, in ſhape reſembling little rabbits, with a head like a mouſe, and ſome fiſh. Some *Spaniards* went on ſhore to take a ſlight view of the country. They diſcovered about ſeventy iſlanders, who, as it appeared, were buſy in preparing a feaſt. They ran off with fear at the ſight of the ſhips. They were, however, prevailed upon to approach by the means of *Diego Colon*, a *Lucayan* lad, whoſe native language was underſtood in thoſe parts. The Admiral preſented them with ſome toys, for which they offered ſome victuals in return. They entertained the ſame idea of the

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celeſtial deſcent of the *Spaniards*, with their northern neighbours on the firſt voyage. The rumour of their heaven-born viſitants ſpread amazing faſt. When the veſſels ſailed weſtward on the firſt and ſecond of May, the *Indians* came in crowds, in their canoes, and offered cazabe, fruits, fiſh, and gourd bottles filled with water. The ſhore was alſo thronged with men, women, and children, who invited the *Spaniards* to land, and come to their houſes, where they offered them all that they poſſeſſed. They were repaid with glaſs beads, bells, and little drums, which they received as divine preſents. The uſual enquiry after gold was made, which was anſwered by pointing to the ſouth.

XIII. As the Admiral was ſteering in that direction, after a courſe of twenty-five leagues, he diſcovered *Jamaica*, an iſland ſo populous, pleaſant, and beautiful, that he preferred it to all thoſe he had hitherto diſcovered. He called the diſtrict where he landed in the middle of the northern coaſt, *Santa Gloria*, as he believed that its enchanting

chanting charms were only to be compared to the abode of the bleſt. This harbour was afterwards called *Santa Anna.* Several boats which were ſent weſtwards to ſeek after other ports, that might be more commodious for careening the *Nina*, found a harbour, after they had rowed four leagues, which anſwered that purpoſe. The fleet ſailed into it, and remained in it for three days. They gave it the name of *Puerto bueno*, a name retained to this day by a neighbouring river. Here, as well as in *Santa Gloria*, they were met by an immenſe number of canoes; the iſlanders that were in them were armed, and whilſt yet at a diſtance, darted their arrows and ſharp ſticks at our men, menacing at the ſame time with hideous howlings and roaring, to prevent a landing. In the firſt inſtance the mediation of the *Lucayan* interpreter, and ſome trinkets ſhewn and offered to them were reſorted to, which diſarmed them of their hoſtility, but now, leſt they ſhould fancy that moderation was ſhewn through puſillanimity and weakneſs, *Columbus* ordered ſome grape ſhot to be fired on them, by which about ſeven were wounded,

wounded, and the reſt put to flight; after which a large dog was let looſe, which purſued and frighted them exceedingly, ſo that not one of them appeared the whole of the day. On the following morning, however, they ſeemed to reſume their courage; they advanced at firſt in ſmall parties ſucceſſively, and at laſt a large body approached by land and water, for the purpoſe of barter. They reſembled in general the *Haytites*, and the inhabitants of *Cuba*. Moſt of them were black, ſome with their ſkins painted in various colours. Many of them wore feathers on their head, their breaſts and loins were ſhaded with palm-tree leaves. Some of their canoes were ornamented with carved work, and paintings on the ſterns. Several of theſe boats were of conſiderable ſize, each made out of a ſingle trunk. One of them was meaſured, and found to be ninety-ſix feet long, and eight broad. Their food, though of the ſame kind with that of the other iſlanders, was much more palatable. The natives were alſo much more ingenious and induſtrious than the reſt, and the arts more advanced. The Admiral took poſſeſ-

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ſion of the iſland, and honoured it with the name of *Santiago*. His main ſhip being refitted, he continued his courſe weſtward. He ſailed twenty-four leagues to the large bay, which forms itſelf to the ſouth, called *Galfo Buentiempo*; a name impoſed from this incident, that the contrary winds, which had prevailed for ſome time, and prevented them from ſailing along the coaſt, began to be more favourable.

XIV. The hopes of diſcovering gold, had led *Columbus* out of his intended courſe, but as he could find no traces of it in *Jamaica*, he bore off to *Cuba*, reſolved to coaſt that country to the length of five or ſix hundred leagues, in order to aſſure himſelf if it was a continent. In the middle of May, he reached a cape upwards of four degrees beyond the weſtern point, which he called *Santa Cruz*. A long ſtring of innumerable iſles, ſome of which are flat and ſandy, others high and cloathed with graſs and verdant ſhrubs, and more ſo in proportion to their contiguity to *Cuba*, intercept the proſpect of this cape, and prevent the paſ-

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ſage to it. The whole group received the name of the *Queen's Garden*. The ſhips were frequently in danger of being loſt in this labyrinth, eſpecially as they were unexpectedly ſurprized with a tempeſt, accompanied with dreadful peals of thunder and flaſhes of lightning. It was propoſed to ſail into the open ſea, but the Admiral, who ſaw that the coaſt ran weſtwards, did not wiſh to loſe ſight of land; he alſo conjectured that this Archipelagus might, perhaps, be that of the five thouſand iſlands, which *Marco Polo*, and *Mandeville*, deſcribe in their accounts of the extreme of *India*. He ſteered about a month weſtwards through continued cliffs and inceſſant dangers, in various windings, on account of the ſeveral ſhoals, and the courſe of the canals which ſeparate the iſles.

XV. He ſent ſeveral of the men, at different times, on the ſhores of *Cuba*, to examine the nature of the country, and its inhabitants, and to inform themſelves whether it was an iſland or a continent. Many of the natives aſſured him it was an iſland, but all agreed that the coaſt extended to

an immenſe length; others ſaid, that farther to the weſt it was inhabited by men, who wore cloaths, with tails, and governed by a great *Cazique* of the name of *Magon*. *Columbus* ſuppoſed, they meant perhaps the province of *Mango*, and was confirmed in this idea when he heard ſome other words, which in ſound reſembled thoſe he had met with in *Mandeville's* writings. As the language of the iſlanders in this part was unintelligible to the interpreter, his opinion could be only founded on ſigns and geſtures; it was, however, ſtrengthened by the narration of one of our archers, who, whilſt wood and water was laying in, ventured a little farther into the country; and as he traverſed a wood, ſaw on a ſudden a man dreſt in white; at firſt he thought it was the chaplain of the fleet, a friar of the order of the merciful Brothers, but the appearance in an inſtant of two ſimilar perſons undeceived him, and at a little diſtance he ſaw about thirty in the ſame cloathing. Alarmed at ſo unuſual a ſight, he ran to the ſhips with this account. But what were theſe white figures which he pretended to have ſeen? apparitions

apparitions which his fearful imagination had formed, or a tale invented for mere ſport. In reality, ſuch beings were never found, or any thing like them. Notwithſtanding this, the *Spaniards* were very much alarmed in conſequence of two troops having been ſent to reconnoitre the country, becauſe one of them experienced much difficulty in penetrating woods, and traverſing marſhy grounds and flats, and the other which roved along the ſhore returned with new ſtories of monſtrous phantoms. The ſcene of theſe viſions bordered on the harbour of *Trinidad*, where the crew recovered from its fear and panic in an open and ſpacious tract of ſea.

XVI. *Columbus* followed the former courſe, and in a ſhort time met other groups of iſlands, and with them new dangers, difficulties, and troubles. The Admiral abſolutely wanted to ſteer north-weſt of the iſland of *Pinos*, which he called *Evangeliſta*; here he obſerved that the coaſt bent ſouthwards, as he expected, according to the ſtatements of the forementioned geographers. Reckoning from the beginning of *Cuba* to

this place, he had now ſailed three hundred and thirty-five leagues; he learned beſides from the natives, that they did not know the extent of this country, though they knew that it exceeded twenty days travelling. On comparing theſe circumſtances, he pronounced the deciſive judgement, which he had often expreſſed during the voyage, "that this country was the beginning of *India*, which, he had intended to come to from *Spain*;" a deciſion which he cauſed to be publiſhed aboard the three ſhips, by *Fernan Perez de Luna*, the ſecretary, accompanied by four witneſſes; and he offered to prove it, if any perſon entertained the leaſt doubt of it. The fifty ſeamen who were on board the fleet, and amongſt whom there were many well ſkilled in delineating maps, and the moſt celebrated pilots, all concurred in opinion with the Admiral, particularly becauſe they found the ſouthern direction of the coaſt confirmed as the Admiral had predicted. Thus, after he had made his declaration on oath, the clerk gave a formal atteſtation of it, on board the *Nina*, on the 12th of June.

Strange

Strange precipitation! A cabbin boy from the maſt top, ſaw the point of *Piedras*, and the open main, and had *Columbus* continued his courſe weſtward only one day more, he would have gained the end of the fancied continent; nor did the nakedneſs and barbarity of the iſlanders correſpond in the leaſt to the well known culture of the *Eaſt Indies*. For all that, prepoſſeſſed in favour of his new ſyſtem, he imagined himſelf to be in the *Chineſe* ocean, and of courſe almoſt about the half of the globe farther than he really was, and ſo near the *Cherſoneſus Aurea*, or as it is now called, the peninſula of *Molaca*, that according to his opinion, he only wanted thirty degrees to join his diſcoveries to the ſeas and countries known to the ancients. Filled with this idea, he wiſhed to be able to navigate through the *Indian* ocean to the *Red Sea*, and thus after having ſailed round the whole globe to return to *Europe*; but the ſcarcity of proviſions, the bad condition of his ſhips, and the puſillanimity of the crews, obliged him to return to *Eſpanola*.

XVII. After he had got clear of the ſhelves and ſandbanks, which conſumed a good deal of time, he ſteered ſlowly to the eaſt, with variable gales and ſhowers of rain. Now he came on ſhelves, and then he found himſelf in a land-locked canal, and to his unſpeakable diſtreſs, the *Nina* ſtruck on the ſtrand, ſo that for a long time it was thought impoſſible to get her off; at laſt they got her afloat, but not till ſhe had damaged her prow. On the 6th of July, he landed at the northern point of the bay, which commences near the *Cape of Santa Cruz*. A maſs was celebrated in the preſence of many *Indians*, who, in imitation of the *Spaniards*, ſeriouſly and ſilently obſerved the ceremony. When the ſervice was ended, an old man approached the Admiral, and made a long ſpeech, in which he expreſſed the pleaſure which he felt in having witneſſed ſuch acts of worſhip and ſubmiſſion to the Supreme Being, by men who had raiſed ſuch terror in the country, and exhorted him to peace and kindneſs, reminding him, that all men are born and ſubject to death, and that the good men, who never injure their fellow creatures, live

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in a delightful place with the King of Heaven, when this ſhort life is paſt; the wicked, on the contrary, are doomed to paſs their time in the abyſs of the earth. So much of his admonitory addreſs was underſtood, and the words explained by the *Lucayan* interpreter, correſponded with the ſigns made by the ſpeaker. *Columbus*, who was ſurprized to hear ſuch exalted ſentiments from the lips of a naked barbarian, whoſe only ornament was a ſtring of ſtone beads, declared, through the interpreter, that he was convinced of the very ſame doctrine, and that he came in the name of the *Caſtilian* Monarch, to render all nations happy, to puniſh the *Caribs* and other cruel people, and to let the good enjoy all clemency and honour. In addition to this, he deſcribed the ſplendor and power of their Majeſties, their courts, armies, fleets, and other brilliant things, which the *Lucayan* painted in lively colours. The good old man ſhed tears of joy, and had he not been prevented by his wife and children, he would have gone with the *Spaniards* to ſee whether the country of theſe admirable navigators belonged to heaven or to the earth. The

crew remained in this place to the 16th, and the fleet rode at anchor in a river, which received the name of the *Holy Maſs*. On the 18th they caſt anchor eaſtward of the *Cape of Cruz*, after having ſuſtained a tempeſt of wind and rain, the violence of it was ſuch, as to occaſion the Admiral to declare he would not expoſe himſelf to ſuch dangers for any perſonal advantages whatever, if it were not in conſideration of the ſervice of God, and his zeal for the extenſion of the monarchy that excited him. Severe conflicts call forth in man, the real and moſt concealed affections of the heart.

XVIII. The toils and troubles for two months, in reality, were exceſſive and unremitting, notwithſtanding the mind was occaſionally relieved and exhilirated with the view of pleaſant objects, ſuch as the beauty and amenity of the country in general, the extraordinary fertility of the ſoil, in a profuſion of herbs, plants, and trees of innumerable kind, and of almoſt every ſize; ſpring and autumn, blended together in the richeſt variety of bloſſoms, fruits, and flowers; the

the air as mild and warm as in ſummer; large marſhy meadows, covered with graſs, as high as wheat in the ear. Many places diſpenſed ſuch odoriferous gales, that the Admiral believed that they conſiſted of entire groves of aromatics and ſpices, and he collected a quantity of aromatic fruit trees. His attention was not leſs attracted by the *Uveros*, or wild vines, loaded with unripe grapes, a ſpecies very different from thoſe known in *Europe*; the *Hiburas*, or trees which produce gourds, fit for every ſort of veſſels. Birds abounded in every place, with melodious notes; parrots, land and ſea ravens, birds of roſe coloured plumage, like cranes, but larger; others like ringdoves, the fleſh of which emitted a certain kind of flavor, and excelled in taſte the partridge. The ſea diſplayed a ſtrange variety of colours, according to the different particles of the ſoil mixed with it. An immenſe number of tortoiſes were ſeen, the common ones three yards in diameter, ſome of them much larger, their neſts in the ſand holes abundant, and full of eggs; but nothing excited ſo much admiration as the ſtrange mode of fiſhing for them. The *Indians*

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caught a marine fiſh of the ſize of a herring, which tied to a thin line, and thrown into the ſea, alights upon the tortoiſe, and fixes on it, with the upper part of its back, which is armed with ſtrong ſharp ſtings, on which it, together with its prey, is drawn out by the ſtring. The iſlanders called this fiſh *Guaycan*, the *Spaniards Reverſo* (reverſe) becauſe it is commonly caught hanging by the back on ſharks and other fiſh. The *Spaniards* could not help admiring the ſerenity and patience of theſe fiſhermen, as well as their induſtry and dexterity. They remained in their canoes ſo intent upon their buſineſs, that even a *Spaniſh* boat, which might be ſuppoſed to be a ſtrange ſight to them, did not draw their attention from it, and as ſoon as they caught a tortoiſe, they preſented the fruit of their labour, in a gentle manner, to the *Spaniards*.

XIX. All the inhabitants of this coaſt diſplayed the ſame frankneſs and want of timidity on every occaſion, except the natives of a little iſle, who fled before our people. All the reſt approached with chearfulneſs

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and without any fear, and brought cotton, bread, fruits, fiſh, birds, and young rabbits of various kinds; aliments which came very opportunely, as the *Spaniards* were reduced to a very ſmall remains of wine, and bad biſcuit, of which the crews, from the Admiral to the cabbin boy, were obliged to content themſelves with a ſmall portion. They could procure fiſh eaſily enough, but the exceſſive heat and moiſture ſcarce permitted to preſerve them one day. Thus our countrymen were obliged to accuſtom themſelves to *Indian* food. The fleſh of the little mute dogs, which they looked on before with diſguſt, was now as palatable as that of a kid; the *Iguanas* * only, the favourite delicacy of theſe nations were found inedible. The company of the iſlanders, and their gentle good-natured temper, delighted the *Spaniards* to the 22d of July. They waited in vain for fair winds to carry them to *Eſpanola*, and to finiſh their troubleſome voyage.

* Leguans, a kind of great lizard.

XX. The

XX. The ſagacious Admiral, according to his uſual cuſtom of turning every circumſtance whatever to ſome advantage, availed himſelf of this contrary wind to purſue his examinations on the ſouthern ſide. As ſoon as he had reached *Jamaica*, he continued his ſurvey from the bay of *Buen-Tiempo* along the weſtern and ſouthern coaſts. He fancied he ſaw a ſingle mountain which extended from weſt to eaſt, the top of which reached above the clouds; it roſe out of the ſea, and on account of its gradual declivity, ſeemed eaſy of aſcent. His ideas of the population, culture, abundance, richneſs of the productions, and food of the iſland, encreaſed in proportion as he became acquainted with it. As far as the eye could reach, it ſeemed to be thickly planted with villages and dwellings; the inhabitants chearfully approached, and furniſhed the *Spaniards* with abundance; a country ſo happy and inviting had not yet preſented itſelf, nor coaſts abounding in ſuch convenient harbours. The ſhips ſteered very ſlowly along the eaſtern coaſt, becauſe the winds were uſually contrary; beſides this, they were incommoded with daily rains,

rains, the unpleaſant effects of which they had already experienced on the coaſt of *Cuba*, and the little iſles ſcattered round it, a conſequence of the abundance of humidity in the low diſtricts, where the water is prevented from flowing off, and which are covered with thick graſs, ſhrubs and trees. The clouds formed by theſe humid exhalations, diſſolve into rain during the night; if ſuch a ſwamp was cultivated and drained, this inconvenience would ceaſe. Thus the Admiral concluded, in conſequence of the experiments he had made in the *Canary* iſlands, *Madeira*, and the *Azores*.

XXI. On the 19th of Auguſt he loſt ſight of the eaſtern point of *Jamaica*, which he called *Farol*, now known by the name of *Cape de Morante*. He computed the circuit of the iſland to be about 800 leagues; and afterwards, on a more accurate examination, he reckoned its length to be about fifty, and its breadth twenty. From the above named Cape, to the moſt weſtern point of *Eſpanola*, now called *Tiburon*, he computed the diſtance to be thirty leagues; he diſcovered

vered it on the 20th of *Auguſt*, and called it *S. Michael*. He did not know where he was for two days, till he heard the word Admiral, and other *Spaniſh* vocables from the lips of a *Cazique*, who gave him ſeveral accounts of the terror which the *Spaniards* had ſpread over the whole iſland. As he ſteered eaſtward along the ſouthern coaſt he loſt ſight of the two ſhips, *Cardera* and *S. Juan*. In order to wait for them, he caſt anchor at *Altovelo*, a little uninhabited iſle, which has retained that name ever ſince. Eight ſharks, which were quietly ſleeping near the ſhore, were killed here, with a number of birds, ſo tame, that they permitted the people to approach them, probably becauſe they never had been diſturbed before. On the firſt of September the ſhips met together again, and ſailed to *La Beata*, and from thence farther beyond the mouth of the river *Neyba*, where they diſcovered a very pleaſant flat ground, every where covered with cottages and dwellings, ſo that as far as the diſtance of a league it appeared like one village. The inhabitants came in their canoes to the ſhips with agreeable news of the colony, and that

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ſome *Spaniards* had arrived amongſt them, by whom the Admiral reſolved to ſend an account to *Iſabella* of his ſafe arrival, on which he ſteered farther eaſtwards, and diſpatched nine men with an order to traverſe the iſland ſtraightways, and to go to the fort of *S. Thomas*, and to another which he had eſtabliſhed in *Vega Real*, called *Magdalena*.

XXII. The fleet continued its courſe. A large village was diſcovered, and when ſome mariners landed in boats, to water, the inhabitants endeavoured to hinder them; ſome armed with bows and poiſoned arrows, others with ropes in their hands, as it were to tie their priſoners. Our mariners intrepidly went on ſhore in defiance of their menaces, on which the inhabitants, inſtead of maintaining their hoſtile appearance, enquired for the Admiral, offered peace, and all that they poſſeſſed. The ſhips were ſeparated on the 14th of September in a violent gale. *Columbus*, who had prognoſticated a tempeſt from the ſight of a grampus and other omens, ſought ſhelter in the canal which is formed

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at the point of the ſouthern coaſt, by the little iſle of *Saona*, which the iſlanders called *Adamancy*. The following night he obſerved a lunar eclipſe, and in conſequence of his calculation, he eſtimated the diſtance between *Saona* and the *Cape Saint Vincent*, at a little more than five hours and a half, though in reality it did not even amount to four hours. Here he remained ſeven days, without knowing what became of the other veſſels, till they happened to come together again after the ſtorm. On the 24th of September he ſailed to *Mona*, or *Amona*, as the *Indians* pronounced it, a petty iſle lying between *Eſpanola* and *S. Juan*. He would fain have ſteered farther eaſtwards, in order to accompliſh the diſcovery of the *Caribbee* iſlands; but his phyſical powers ſunk under the exertions of his great mind; exhauſted with unremitting fatigues, continual watchings, and miſerable food, he fell into an entire lethargy, totally deprived of the uſe of his ſenſes. The crew, apprehenſive of his diſſolution, ſteered to *Iſabella*, and through the favour of the eaſt winds commonly prevalent

valent in thoſe ſeas, they reached the wiſhed for port on the 29th of September.

XXIII. The Admiral recovered by degrees through great and ſedulous attendance. The joy of finding his brother *Bartholomew* in *St. Iſabella*, did not a little contribute to the return of his health; as he found in him a faithful friend, an old companion, a man of undaunted courage, enlarged knowledge and judgement, who would now ſhare with him the heavy burden of his weighty cares. The intelligence which *Bartholomew* imparted, afforded him much conſolation. After many troubles and diſappointments, he had obtained the declaration of the King of *England* at laſt, that his Majeſty had reſolved to undertake the diſcovery. He had the ſatisfaction of finding himſelf received with much kindneſs and eſteem as he paſſed through *Paris*, by the King of *France*, who had already been informed of the aſtoniſhing voyage of the Admiral, and made him a preſent of a hundred dollars. He received ſtill greater honours and preſents from their *Spaniſh* Majeſties, to whom he was pre-

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ſented, in company with his two nephews, *Diego* and *Fernando*; they remained at court in quality of pages to the Prince, a grace conferred on them out of reſpect to their father. *Bartholomew* himſelf was ennobled with the title of *Don*, and appointed captain of three caravels, on which he ſet ſail in the month of April for *Eſpanola*, taking along with him, a quantity of proviſions and other things which the Admiral had deſired through *Antonio de Torres*, who had arrived in *Spain* a month before. He delivered, beſides, a letter to *Columbus*, from their Majeſties, in which they approved, in reſpectful expreſſions, the conduct of the Admiral in all his tranſactions, preparations, and undertakings. They encouraged him to perſevere, with additional promiſes of reward for his important ſervices, and to puniſh thoſe that diſobeyed his orders, or would attempt to impede his projects; finally, they promiſed to ſend him in a ſhort time, the proviſions that he required, by another fleet, and then to give him a more circumſtantial anſwer.

XXIV. *Columbus* in a ſhort time received the new ſupply thus promiſed. Four ſhips, under the command of *Torres*, arrived, and with them a good quantity of the wiſhed for refreſhments, ſtuffs, and other commodities. The latter were to be ſold at a moderate price for the uſe of private perſons, according to a tax fixed by *Fonſeca*. Miners, beaſts for ſlaughter, cattle, and animals for breed, garments, beds, curtains, preſerves, pickles, and other ſauces for the Admiral. But that which afforded him the moſt unmixed pleaſure, were the letters which were addreſſed to him from the court; his conduct was praiſed in terms of gratitude and reſpect. "We wiſh with all our hearts," ſaid the King and Queen "that we could be with you, and avail ourſelves of your advice." They informed him of the treaty which they had concluded with *Portugal*, and wiſhed for his advice and aſſiſtance in drawing the boundary line. All thoſe whom he had nominated to offices were confirmed in them, and fixed ſalaries annexed to them; and thoſe whom he had recommended were peculiarly noticed. He was authorized to fill places

of the thouſand perſons in the King's pay, as often as they became vacant; and to give them to any one of the two hundred volunteers and upwards, whom he ſhould deem qualified and able to fill them. Thoſe who had acted up to the Admiral's ſatisfaction received the thanks of their Majeſties; thoſe on the contrary, who were turbulent, negligent, or diſobedient, were cenſured ſeverely. Their Majeſties concern for the growth and proſperity of the colony evidently appeared from the orders which they had given to the Archdeacon *Fonſeca*, to ſend out ſhips ſucceſſively, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the coloniſts with all ſorts of proviſions and ammunition; and the embargo with reſpect to the exportation of corn for *India* on that account was repealed, and the duties were aboliſhed, as well as every other article requiſite for that quarter, and the commerce with the colony. It was finally determined to ſend out a caravel every month, and to expect one in the ſame time, which could eaſily be done, as the *Spaniſh* navigation had nothing to apprehend from the *Portugueſe*. The converſion of the natives

natives paſſed over in ſilence; the King and his conſort, as a proof of the intereſt which they took in it, exhorted father *Boil* to remain on the iſland, and to follow up the holy deſign for which he had ſet out, though he wrote that his reſidence there was fruitleſs, and that from his ignorance of the language he could not be of any utility. They anſwered that this difficulty was eaſy to be conquered, as the zealous *Fray Roman Pane* really got the better of it very ſoon.

XXV. But the real cauſe was, that *Boil* could not accuſtom himſelf to a way of living ſo different from the tranquillity and repoſe of his hermitage. Inſtead, therefore, of qualifying himſelf for the office for which he was appointed, he availed himſelf of the firſt opportunity of returning to *Spain*, with the ſhips which *Bartholomew Colon* had brought over. Thus he ſet off as a deſerter, from a place where his advice and preſence would have been moſt uſeful in the abſence of the Governor, and what was more, by his deſertion he inflamed the minds of the other malcontents, eſpecially his countryman

Margarit, the author of all the diſorders, which threw the colony and the whole iſland into the greateſt diſtreſs and danger. This man was general of the *Spaniſh* troops, but he neither acted according to the inſtructions which he had received on being appointed to that rank, nor acknowledged the ſuperior authority of the Council of Government; on the contrary, he uſurped an arbitrary and deſpotic power, and acted without any reflection on his duty. He tainted our people with the plague of diſcord, and kindled in the *Indians* a deadly hatred and deteſtation of the *Spaniſh* name; he kept the army continually in the moſt cultivated and beſt proviſioned diſtrict of *Vega-real*, where he permitted them to revel, and indulge in every poſſible licentiouſneſs. Who ſhould not know the outrageneſs of ſuch a diſſolute body? At laſt he was ſo far forgetful of his duty as to leave his poſt, without intruſting any perſon with his command, and returned to *Spain*. The licentiouſneſs and inſolence of the ſoldiery aroſe to ſuch a degree that the inhabitants were no longer able to endure it. The *Spaniards*, without any head to keep them together,

together, roved in ſingle pillaging parties, and yielded themſelves up entirely to the dictates of neceſſity, luſt, and irregular paſſions. Tired with ſuch enormities, the poor *Indians* paſſed from fear and horror to deſpair. The weakneſs of their arms was ſupplied by number, and they began to kill the *Spaniards*; ſo as their multitudes increaſed they continued their hoſtilities; they began to rove through and pillage the new eſtabliſhments of their enemies, and drove them back into the town and forts; and even then they continued to harraſs them. *Caonabo* inveſted *S. Thomas*, and reconnoitered the ſtrength of *Iſabella*, in order to repeat, if poſſible, the ſpectacle which he had exhibited at *Navidad*. *Guatignana*, Cazique of the province of *Macoriz*, where the fort of *Magdelena* was erected, killed ten ſoldiers, and ſet fire to a houſe in which forty ſick men were confined to their bed. The iſlanders united together in many places of *Cibao* and *Vega* in vaſt multitudes, and menaced the entire deſtruction of the colony.

XXVI. Thus affairs came to a very alarming degree, becauſe the Governor was

upwards of four weeks before he recovered, ſo that in all that time he could not adopt any meaſure to reſtrain or put an end to the evil. It might alſo be, perhaps, that he reckoned too much on the gentleneſs of the *Indians*, and hoped they would become calm and quiet, as ſoon as the *Spaniards* would behave with more moderation; or he had no apprehenſion that they would ſo ſpeedily caſt off the high ideas and reverence with which they were impreſſed for a race deſcended from Heaven, and dare to wage offenſive war againſt them; nor did he give entire credit to the words of *Guacanagari*, who came to viſit him, and at the ſame time diſcloſed to him the conſpiracy of the three great Caziques, *Guarionex*, *Behechio*, and *Caonabo* and of many other petty Caziques, who had formed a plot to drive the foreigners out of the iſland, or to deſtroy them entirely; he added that he himſelf was very much perſecuted, becauſe he refuſed to join in this plot, and had always entertained a hundred *Spaniards* in the beſt manner poſſible, and rendered them every favour and ſervice in his power. As a reward for his faithful ſervices, he requeſted aſſiſt-

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ance againſt the common enemy. The Admiral began to open his eyes, when he heard of the temerity and inſolence of *Guatignana*, who was within two days march of the town, in a hoſtile manner. He determined to take revenge on him. He marched with a ſufficient number of troops to the fort of *Magdelena*; he found it ſurrounded by a multitude of *Indians*, and the captain *Luis de Arriga* in the utmoſt diſtreſs; however, he put the unarmed puſillanimous horde to flight with little difficulty. As to the *Cazique* he could not get him into his power, but he puniſhed him ſeverely in his ſubjects, many of whom he rendered ſlaves, and brought the whole province of *Macoriz* into ſubjection, on which he haſtened eaſtwards to the dominions of *Guarionex*, who undoubtedly thrown into fright by the dreadful example of his neighbour, ſubmitted himſelf to the Admiral, and granted an eſtabliſhment of the *Spaniards* in his country, for which purpoſe the Admiral cauſed the fort *de la Concepcion* to be erected.

XXVII. When he came back to *Iſabella*, on the 24th of February 1495, he diſpatched

Torres

Torres with his four ſhips laden with *Indian* ſlaves, for the purpoſe of being ſold at *Seville*, except a few which he wiſhed to be inſtructed in the *Spaniſh* language. He alſo ſent by the ſame veſſels a quantity of gold, with ſamples of other minerals, and delicious fruits; among other things a ſort of copper, and dye-wood like *Braſil* wood, an important article in the commerce of thoſe days. *Don Diego Columbus* accompanied *Torres* in this voyage; ſent perhaps by his brother, to defeat the malicious calumnies which it was juſtly apprehended *Fray Boil*, *Margarit*, and others of the ſame party, might diſſeminate at court, to the diſadvantages of *India*, and the management of its affairs. The Admiral would have undertaken the voyage himſelf for this purpoſe, if his preſence had not been more neceſſary in *Eſpanola*, to avenge the murders committed in *Eſpanola* on the chriſtians, to ſubdue and pacify the whole iſland. The fierce and ſtubborn *Caonabo* created the moſt care and inquietude, for inſtead of being warned by the ſlaughter and conqueſt of *Macoriz*, in which it is probable many of his vaſſals ſuffered, he did not ceaſe

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to harraſs *Ojeda* in *S. Thomas*, and to unite the natives of that diſtrict againſt the *Spaniards*. Our people, who wiſhed to ſubdue him and make him a priſoner, ſet out on the 24th of March out of town, to the number of two hundred infantry and twenty cavalry, with twenty large dogs. *Guacanagari* was preſent at this expedition, and was made to believe that it was undertaken on his account, becauſe *Columbus* hoped to facilitate the ſubjection of the country by ſaving and cheriſhing the ſeeds of diſcord amongſt the *Caziques*. At the cloſe of the ſecond days, march they obſerved a vaſt number of *Indians* in *Vega-real*, to the amount of about a hundred thouſand. The Admiral ſuppoſed it would be no difficult matter to rout them; he divided his troops, and placed one diviſion under the command of his brother *Don Bartholomew*, in order to attack the enemy on both ſides at one time. The daſtardly crowd was put to flight on the firſt diſcharge of the bows and muſquetry; the report and deſtruction of the guns threw them into the greateſt diſorder and fear, and each diviſion broke in on them; the horſes and the dogs occaſioned

occaſioned the greateſt terror and confuſion; they fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and the *Spaniards* who purſued them made a terrible ſlaughter amongſt them. Many of them were ſeized alive, and condemned to ſlavery; the greateſt part were indebted for their ſafety to their flight; ſome eſcaped into their provinces, and others fled to the mountains, where they wandered about and communicated this diſaſtrous defeat to other iſlanders, who were ſo panic ſtruck with the account, that they looked upon the *Spaniards* as invincible, and no perſon had courage to offend them.

XXVIII. The alarm and diſmay reached *Caonabo*, and his troops raiſed the ſiege of fort *Thomas*, which they had inveſted for thirty days ſucceſſively. Nevertheleſs, the Admiral was not ſatisfied till he had got this dangerous *Cazique* into his power. For that purpoſe he ſet out for *S. Thomas*, from whence he diſpatched *Ojedo*, with ſome horſemen to him, to invite him in a friendly manner, and to bring him along with him, under the pretext of a pacific viſit. His

reſidence

reſidence was in *Maguana*, a province adjoining to *Cibao*, which extends weſtwards to the river *Neyba*, into which the ſecond *Yaque* falls. This river riſes in *Cibao*, not far from the ſource of the great *Yaque*, and runs in the oppoſite direction through an even ground, not very extenſive, but beautiful and pleaſant. *Ojeda* met the *Cazique* about half a mile from the river. The laſt victory gained by the *Spaniards* had already rendered him more tame, flexible and gentle, and as *Ojeda* convinced him by remonſtrances that he would expoſe his perſon and dominion to unavoidable danger, if he did not accept of the invitation which he brought him, and preſent himſelf to the invincible *Guamiquina* of the chriſtians, as this would be the only means to inſure his favour and friendſhip. After much perſuaſion, he conſented at laſt to accompany him; diſtruſtful, however, of the reſult, he took a numerous retinue with him, under the pretext that the dignity and authority of his perſon demanded ſuch a guard; but his precaution was of little ſervice to him; the prudent and reſolute captain found means to ſeparate him from his

his people, and when he had ſo done, he ordered him to be tied on the back of his horſe, and gallopped off in full ſpeed with his priſoner till he delivered him into the hands of the Admiral. He was impriſoned in *Iſabella*, a proceſs made out againſt him, and from the teſtimony of witneſſes and his own confeſſion, it appeared that he was the contriver and author of the fire which laid *Navidad* in aſhes, that he had cheriſhed a ſimilar intention againſt *Iſabella*; that he was the cauſe of the murder of twenty *Spaniards*, and had plotted the deſtruction of the whole colony. His high dignity ſaved his life, which was not the caſe with thoſe who had been made priſoners in the battle at *Vega-real*. A reaſonable indulgence, and the more ſo as the iſlanders were exceedingly cowardly, and accordingly it did not ſeem neceſſary to exceed the caution of removing the only ring-leader who might excite freſh commotions; his perſon and cauſe were therefore reſigned to the Monarch of *Spain*. The only ſuſpicions that remained were againſt his family, one brother eſpecially, who was celebrated for his intrepid courage.

XXIX. In

XXIX. In order to extinguiſh thoſe apprehenſions, reinforcements were ſent to *S. Thomas*, with an order to *Ojeda* to ſubjugate the provinces of *Cibao* and *Maguana*, a reſolution occaſioned by the conduct of the ſame *Caonabo*, as *Pedro Martir* writes. The impriſoned *Cazique* raged and foamed in the beginning, with all the fury of a wild beaſt, bound with chains. After his frenzy had abated, he gave out that his country had become a prey to the devaſtations of certain *Caziques*, and requeſted the Admiral to defend them by ſending a competent number of *Spaniards* thither. His real hope was, that his brother, either through art or force might be able to ſucceed in ſeizing on ſo many of our people as would be ſufficient to ranſon him; his artful and deſigning ſchemes were however ſeen through, and *Ojeda* ſet out, well armed and prepared with proper force, to *Maguana*. Scarce had he arrived in that province, when he diſcovered about five thouſand *Indians*, with arrows, *Macanas*, (ſtone ſwords) and ſharp pointed ſticks, headed by the brother of *Caonabo*. He marched with the utmoſt intrepidity to meet them,

them, and obſerved this hoſtile body divide itſelf into four columns; they marched up in good order and took a poſition, calculated to ſurround him. Without giving them time to accompliſh this plan, he attacked the front diviſion in an open field where the horſes could act. The *Indians*, unable to withſtand the violence of the ſpirited animals which they dreaded ſo much, fell into diſorder and betook themſelves to flight. The *Spaniards* killed and wounded all thoſe that fell within their reach; the conſequence of which was that the other diviſions caught the alarm, ſome fled to the mountains, and others ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, and offered to enter into the ſervice of the chriſtians, if permitted to remain in their natural ſtate. This moderate requeſt was acceded to, and tranquillity was reſtored throughout the province. The ſoldiers returned to *Iſabella* with *Caonabo's* brother priſoner, and ſuch of his family whom they could ſeize.

XXX. The *Indians* were now ſo much tamed, that if they met a *Spaniard*, they endeavoured to the utmoſt of their power to expreſs

expreſs their complaiſance towards him, and to carry him upon their ſhoulders, even when he was by himſelf and unarmed. Hitherto they dreaded that the *Caribs*, whom they looked on with horror and deteſtation, would one day or other become their maſters, according to the interpretation of a certain revelation, which a *Cazique*, recently deceaſed, pretended to have received from his idol. Now, when they found that the *Caribs* only invaded them for the purpoſe of pillage, and returned again to their iſlands, the *Spaniards*, on the contrary, took up their abode in their country, and erected new houſes every day; they looked on this pretended prophecy to be fulfilled, and applied it to thoſe new enemies. It is probable that the belief of this unavoidable decree of fate, contributed, in a conſiderable degree, to the ſubmiſſion of a numerous people to ſix hundred men, moſt of whom were ſick. The Admiral now undertook another journey through the principal provinces, and without drawing a ſword, he prevailed on their *Caziques* to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the King of *Spain* and his Royal conſort, and

to pay them tribute. This tribute was impoſed as a poll-tax on all the *Indians* who were upwards of fourteen years of age, and was to be paid at the end of every three months. The tax laid on the inhabitants of *Cibao*, and the diſtricts adjoining that country, was to deliver each as much gold duſt as a bell would contain, and for the reſt to deliver five and twenty pounds of cotton per head; a very heavy and impolitic tax. It was expected that this impoſition would bring in each day of payment, about twenty thouſand peſos, yet there were ſcarcely received two hundred in the three firſt quarters, and doubtleſs the receipts of the two or three ſubſequent quarters would have been ſtill leſs productive if the payment of them had been rigidly exacted. But the poverty and want of induſtry among the inhabitants induced the *Spaniards* to relinquiſh the rigour with which they had began to enforce the collection of it, eſpecially as after ſo many wanton pillages, and the pacification of the iſland, as it was called, moſt of the villages were deſerted, the cultivated fields abandoned, and the iſlanders ſought dens and caverns.

caverns. This lamentable condition, not leſs prejudicial to the conquered, than to the conquerors, was rendered ſtill worſe by the impoſition of the tax, and the ſeverity with which it was collected. The Admiral connived at the latter, from an impatient deſire to collect as ſpeedily as poſſible a great deal of gold, and other precious articles, in order to be able to furniſh the neceſſary expences for his undertakings. If, thought he, inſtead of drawing on the King's treaſury, he could enrich it, he might be ſure of the favour of the court; otherwiſe he feared his enemies might ſucceed in ſupplanting him, and his fear was not groundleſs.

XXXI. In fact, the complaints of his ſeverity in the puniſhment of ſome delinquents, the rigour with which he, and his brothers in particular, withheld the daily pittance of the people; the remonſtrance, how little the country had anſwered the flattering expectations which he had held out of it; and other calumnies, or perhaps exaggered accuſations, occaſioned a reſolution of the court, to commiſſion ſome perſon to inquire into

the complaints and charges preferred against *Columbus*. Their Majeſties, at firſt, intended to nominate *Diego Carillo*, a knight of the order of *Malta*, or ſome other diſtinguiſhed and reputable perſon for that purpoſe; but on a ſudden, *Juan Aguado*, ſteward of the King's houſehold, who had been in *India*, and returned with *Torres*, highly recommended by the Admiral, was appointed. They ſhewed, it ſeems, a reſpect for the Admiral, as well in the choice of the commiſſioner, as in the limitation of his time and power, which he was entruſted with. Their Majeſties declared, that this commiſſion was inſtituted in conſequence of a report that the Admiral had died on the voyage to *Cuba*; but that in caſe he was alive, and in *Eſpanola*, their will was, that he ſhould be obeyed in whatever he might propoſe, and that the commiſſioner ſhould not proceed any farther than to take informations and then return, and make a report. Their Majeſties particularly teſtified their approbation and pleaſure to the Admiral with reſpect to the good accounts received through *Torres*, in the beginning of April. They alſo ordered that a quantity

a quantity of gold, which had been withheld from *Don Diego Colon* in the harbour, ſhould not only be given up to him, but that alſo ſatisfaction ſhould be made to him. Finally, they ordered that a letter ſhould be written to his brother, in ſuch terms as would pleaſe him, and remove every ſuſpicion of his having incurred any diſgrace.

XXXII. Theſe were the inſtructions given to *Don Juan de Fonſeca*, who, though he was now biſhop of *Badajoz*, yet continued to ſuperintend the affairs of *India*, inveſted with excluſive juriſdiction and authority to judge and paſs ſentence in all law-ſuits and tranſactions relative to the trade and navigation of the weſtern colonies. This object, notwithſtanding the clamour of the malcontents, was looked upon every day with more attention and intereſt, eſpecially ſince an account had been received, that a continent had been diſcovered. For now the government, as well as the ſubjects, took additional courage to fit out ſhips, and to make voyages of diſcovery. Rents, and advantageous prerogatives were promiſed to

thoſe who would build ſhips of ſix hundred tons burthen and upwards. *Vicente Yanez Pinzon*, and ſome other private perſons, requeſted permiſſion to ſet out on diſcoveries at their own expence, and to trade with the countries already diſcovered, as well as with thoſe which might be diſcovered. This permiſſion was granted to them without any limitation, on condition of paying ten per cent. on the profits they might gain by barter. In conſequence of this meaſure, it was hoped, that in a ſhort time all the unknown countries would be found, for the benefit of the government, the good of the ſubjects, and the extenſion of religion.

XXXIII. The eſtabliſhment of *Eſpanola* was conſidered as the baſis of this grand projected edifice, and accordingly it was deemed neceſſary to maintain and ſupport it by every means. The coloniſts were very much diſpleaſed with the oppreſſion which they ſuffered under a rigorous government, compelled to remain againſt their inclination, and to beg their victuals daily from the public magazine; and what was ſtill more

galling,

galling, to ſee the gold in the rivers, and in the hands of the *Indians*, without being able to obtain a ſingle grain of it for themſelves. All theſe complaints were now removed. The number of perſons, (a thouſand,) who received ſalaries, was now reduced to five hundred, the reſt were at liberty to go where they pleaſed. It was ordered that the proviſions which came from *Spain* ſhould be diſtributed in portions, each ſufficient for ten days, and not withheld from any perſon, except capital criminals. Every one was permitted to exchange commodities for gold with the natives, on condition of paying ten per cent. to the crown, and alſo to ſearch for this ore in rivers and mines. The latter grant, however, was not very productive: for out of all the gold which the coloniſts acquired in that way, a third part only was left to them, and if they worked for pay, they received no more than a fifth part, which, conſidering the great riches of the mines, was reckoned no ſmall reward at that time. After all, the intention was to reſerve as much as poſſible for the advantage of the crown, the only article which ſeemed

certain and ſufficient to defray the expences of the colony, which were very conſiderable, as the ſalaries alone amounted to ſix millions of *Maravedis* *. How great the expectations entertained of the mines were, may appear from the contract which was made with *Pablo Belvis*, an able maſter miner, who was charged with the care of ſinking ſhafts, and providing all the neceſſary machinery for that purpoſe, and to engage ſuch maſters and miners as he ſhould think proper. He was promiſed a ſalary of a thouſand ducats; and the tenth part of the gold, in caſe it ſhould not annually exceed two thouſand, with the privilege to take his tenth part alſo from thoſe that in future ſhould make uſe of his machines, together with

* *Maravedis*, at preſent the ſmalleſt *Spaniſh* coin, was at that time coined of ſilver, and contained eighteen *Caſtilian Dineros*; its preſent value is $\frac{43}{272}$ of a penny. The yearly expences of the *Spaniſh* crown, in ſupport of *Saint Domingo*, amounted to about 23,437 dollars. But the low ſtate of the revenues of the *Spaniſh* Monarch at that time, and the ſcarcity of circulating caſh in *Spain*, as well as throughout the whole of *Europe*, previous to the diſcovery of the *American* ſilver mines, muſt be taken into conſideration. T. N.

other

other rights and advantages. The travelling expences of the maſter miner, his workmen, their board, the quickſilver *, and all the other materials and inſtruments; in ſhort, all the expences were paid out of the King's treaſury. *Fermin Zedo*, and the miners ſent out firſt had not been able to ſucceed, but the wiſe Monarch did not ſpare any expences to bring about an eſtabliſhment which promiſed ſuch advantages. In order to encourage and facilitate the emigration of coloniſts to *India*, and to inſure their perpetual reſidence there, an offer was held out to all thoſe that ſhould

* The quickſilver, which *Paul Belvis* took out with him to the *New World* in 1495, ſerved at that time to ſeparate the particles of the gold from the ſand and earth, as well as other heterogeneous matter with which it was mixt. The author has preſerved in this account, an important fact, hitherto unknown. For to the preſent it was the received opinion, that the uſe of quickſilver for the foregoing purpoſe, and for the amalgamation of ſilver-ore, was not known to the *Spaniards*, previous to the middle of the ſixteenth century; and all thoſe who have been ſaid to be the inventors of this mode of amalgamation, have only repeated a practiſe known in the middle age to the *Arabs* and ancient *Spaniards*, as a new invention. T. N.

reſolve

reſolve to go there, to grant them proviſions for twelve months, free paſſage of perſons and goods, exemption from all taxes, and the perpetual property of all the houſes they might erect, and of the ground they would cultivate.

XXXIV. An order was iſſued to procure eccleſiaſtics in the room of Father *Boil*, and ſome others who did not chuſe to ſtay in the iſland, for the ſpiritual welfare of the diſcoveries was never neglected. With reſpect to that object, the idea of inſtructing and qualifying the *Indians* ſent to *Spain* for interpreters, was as much approved and patroniſed, as the cruelty of ſelling them as ſlaves was diſapproved. The Admiral ought not to have inſiſted ſo warmly on the latter plan, and had it been only for accommodating himſelf to their Majeſties kind and gentle hearts, which were viſible in all their letters. Though he deſcribed the *Caribs* as more inhuman than ſavage beaſts, and that a conſiderable gain would ariſe through their ſlavery; yet this propoſal met with no approbation, but on the contrary, he was adviſed

viſed to reduce them by gentleneſs. After ſuch admonitions, how could he expect that the ſeverities which he exerciſed towards the gentle-tempered *Indians* of *Eſpanola* ſhould be approved? But they were conſidered as vaſſals of the crown, and conſequently their reſiſtance to it was looked on as a crime which would juſtify every act of cruelty inflicted on them. Theſe were the prevalent opinions, and in their application, as well as in their origin and progreſs, paſſion and ſelf-intereſt prevailed over reaſon and humanity. Accordingly they began to ſell ſome hundreds of *Indians* in *Andaluſia*, which *Torres* had brought over; but this infamous traffic was ſtopt almoſt as ſoon as it was begun. Four days after the ſale had been permitted, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, moved by compaſſion, ordered it to be ſuſpended, till they could be informed if they could permit it with a ſafe conſcience. Several divines and lawyers were deſired to deliver their opinion on this queſtion; but I don't find that it was decided. It is certain, however, that the royal perſonages continued to exhibit

hibit their wonted ſpirit of indulgence and mildneſs towards the *Indians*.

XXXV. Whilſt theſe meaſures were adopted, the moſt ſpeedy preparations were made to ſend out the royal commiſſioner as ſoon as poſſible, with a ſufficient reinforcement of men and ſupply of proviſions; and to freight twelve ſhips, which were to carry out, by degrees, the neceſſary articles with more regularity than had heretofore been obſerved. At laſt, *Aguado* ſet ſail in the month of Auguſt with four ſhips; *Belvis*, the maſter of the mines, *D. Diego Columbus*, and ſome artizans, engaged at ſalaries, accompanied him. Several animals, intended for breed on the iſland, a quantity of proviſions, medicine, iron tools, and a variety of other articles, were alſo ſent along with him. He landed at *Iſabella* in October, at a time when *Don Bartholomew Columbus* adminiſtered the government in the abſence of the Admiral, who had not returned from his voyage of diſcovery. After he had delivered his credentials, in which all the coloniſts were ordered to believe, and ſubmit to what the commiſſioner would ſay

to

to them in the name of their Majeſties, he began to exerciſe his authority with all the inſolence and airs of importance, and dignity, which are the uſual characteriſtics of men raiſed to a higher dignity than they deſerve. He took on himſelf the buſineſs of government, called the magiſtrates and officers of finance to account, regardleſs of the Vice-Governor. Nor did he pay due reſpect to the Admiral, who, as ſoon as this intelligence reached him, haſtened to the town. On the contrary, he treated him with diſreſpectful words, and threatened him with the puniſhment of the court. He heard and encouraged the malcontents, and propoſed to remove the oppreſſion of the coloniſts, and thereby nouriſhed the calumnies and repugnancy to the laws. The Admiral ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of conniving at faults, and to relax his uſual rigour, in order to avoid new complaints. At laſt he reſolved to return with *Aguado* to *Spain*, to remove the ſlanders and rumours which had been propagated at the expence of his intereſt, and which alſo tended to impede

the

the progreſs of his undertaking. The voyage was obliged to be deferred for a conſiderable time, on account of a hurricane, ſo dreadful, that neither the *Indians* nor *Spaniards* ever recollected to have experienced the like. The largeſt and ſtrongeſt trees were torn up by the root. The ſea raged furiouſly; *Aguado*'s four ſhips, and two others, ſunk in the harbour; the *Nina* was very much damaged, but ſaved.

XXXVI. Whilſt meaſures were taken to repair her again, and to build another out of the wreck of the ſix, intelligence was brought to the town of rich ores having been diſcovered in that diſtrict which had been ceded by the *Indians* to the garriſon of the fort *de la Concepcion*. *D. Bartholomew Columbus* travelled to the place, accompanied by an armed detachment, and ſome men ſkilled in mining, to examine it. In *Concepcion* he took guides, went ſouthwards over the chain of mountains, then acroſs the plain and eminences, called *Del Bonao*, till he hit upon the *Hayna*, a large ſtream which falls into the ſea at the ſouthern coaſt. They diſcerned traces

traces of gold every where, but chiefly on the weſtern ſhore of the *Hayna*, about eight leagues from its mouth, and forty-five from *Iſabella*. After ſome examination in ſeveral places, through an extent of ſix leagues, many grains of a conſiderable ſize were found. The gold grains in *Cibao*, on the contrary, were moſtly ſmall. The earth was ſo richly mixt with this metal, that it was ſuppoſed every workman might collect, with moderate induſtry, three drachms a day. They diſcovered ſome traces of cavities, made after the manner of ancient wells. The Admiral conjectured, that theſe, perhaps, might be the ſources from whence the fleets of *Solomon* were laded with gold, which was made uſe of in the erection of the celebrated temple, and which enriched the treaſury of that monarch. This fancy has occaſioned ſeveral improbable, and very ridiculous opinions, concerning the ſituation of *Ophir*. The enthuſiaſtic diſcoverer has a claim to indulgence, partly on account of the novelty of the things, and partly owing to the deficient ſtate of geography in thoſe days, and partly out of a wiſh to diſcover

wonderful

wonderful things, to encreaſe his importance at the court.

XXXVII. Such ſpecious ſuppoſitions, however, did not redound ſo much to his advantage, as the increaſing hopes that the eſtabliſhments in the new world, and the navigations to it, would riſe to the ſpeedy ſuccours of the ſtate. The expenditure no longer exceeded the income, as it had done in the firſt year, which was the principal charge that the enemies of *Columbus* brought againſt his diſcoveries. The Admiral ſaw this, and accordingly collected the gold he had received from *Caonabo Guacanagari*, and the other *Caziques* and tributary *Indians*, which in the whole, perhaps, ſcarce amounted to two hundred ounces, together with what he had gained in the expedition to the *Hayna*, in which, as *Pedro Martir* ſtates, beſides the ſamples already named, a grain of gold was found of the weight of twenty ounces, and a piece of ore, reſembling bell-metal, which weighed upwards of ſix *Arobes*, and which was found lying in the yard of the houſe of

of a certain Cazique, where, according to report, it had lain from the remoteſt period of his anceſtors. In all probability it was a kind of copper or braſs. *Martir* declares it to have been pure *Electre*, as the gold is called which is mixed with one-fifth part ſilver; he adds, that the *Indians* ſhewed the mine, out of which, according to their ſuppoſition, this metal in antient times had been taken, but which was now filled up with earth. It is true, it coſt a good deal of pains to acquire ſuch information, as the iſlanders, oppreſſed and haraſſed by the foreigners, were not willing to lead them into any diſcovery that might be advantageous to them. On the contrary, they wiſhed to drive them from the iſland, and it is believed, that for that purpoſe, they intentionally ceaſed to ſow and plant *Maiz*, *Yuca*, and the roots which were the common food of the natives, and which the *Spaniards*, driven by neceſſity, accuſtomed themſelves to eat. The want of theſe neceſſaries began to be felt in the expedition of *Bartholomew Columbus*, and the fear of a dreadful ſcarcity which ſeemed to

threaten them, could not fail to encreaſe the number of the diſaffected, and the general wiſh of returning to *Spain*. Theſe circumſtances, and the inſolent behaviour of *Aguado*, increaſed the affliction of the Admiral, who, however, took the neceſſary meaſures, with much activity, to leave the colony in a good condition, and to accelerate his departure.

XXXVIII. As ſoon as the new ſhip, which was called the *Cruz* was ready, as well as the *Nina*, they were provided with the neceſſary ſtores, and ſailed on the 10th of March, 1496. The Admiral took two hundred and twenty-five *Spaniards*, and thirty *Indians* along with him; amongſt whom was *Caonabo*, (who died on the paſſage,) his ſon, brother, and one of his couſins. It was not yet known, that it is neceſſary to ſteer northwards to fall in with the weſterly winds, which favour the navigation. The direct courſe towards the eaſt was taken, the conſeqence of which was, that the ſhips were ſteered with exceſſive

ceſſive difficulty, as they had to encounter contrary winds continually. On the 6th of April, when the Admiral ſaw himſelf as yet in the region of the iſlands, the crew fatigued, and the proviſions nearly conſumed, he reſolved to land at *Guadaloupe*, which he did on the 10th of April. A number of the natives, armed with bows and arrows, endeavoured to prevent a landing, but the thunder of the guns filled them with ſuch terror, that they fled immediately far from their dwellings. The *Spaniards* went on ſhore, and their firſt care was to collect a good ſtore of *Cazabe*: Some went far into the country and ſeized on ten women, on whom ſeveral marks appeared which anſwered to the deſcription of the pretended *Amazonian* race. The Admiral himſelf took them to be ſuch, perſuaded by their ſigns and miſunderſtood expreſſions, that the iſland was inhabited ſolely by women, and that at certain times only they admitted the other ſex to viſit it. They poſſeſſed an uncommon boldneſs, and maſculine bodily ſtrength, were extremely thick and corpulent, and very agile. One of the ten

captives, purſued by a very quick and intrepid *Canarian*, would undoubtedly have eſcaped by flight, had ſhe not truſted in her ſtrength; for as ſoon as ſhe ſaw her purſuer alone, ſhe threw him on the ground, and would have ſtrangled him, if his comrades had not haſtened to his relief. She came voluntarily on board, out of love, as it ſeems, for *Caonabo*, who was ſaid to be of *Carabean* origin; the reſt were ſent again on ſhore, and preſented with trinkets, that they might ſpread the report of the kindneſs of the *Spaniards* over the iſland, which was conſidered as a convenient place of repoſe in that navigation.

XXXIX. After having laid in a good ſtore of *Cazabe*, with wood and water, they ſailed again on the 20th. The erroneous courſe was continued principally under the 22d degree, in a continued calm and contrary, or at leaſt not very favourable wind, which laſted above a month before they reached the track of the *Azores*, which the Admiral concluded from the obſervation of ſome compaſſes. The reſt of the mariners,

leſs

leſs informed and attentive, could not gueſs where they were. This circumſtance, as well as the decreaſe of victuals, which made it neceſſary to limit the daily allowance of each perſon to ſix ounces of bread, diſquieted the crew very much. Their fear, and the dread of ſtarving with hunger, roſe to the higheſt degree, ſo that on the 7th of June, ſome deſperadoes took the reſolution either to eat the *Indians*, or throw them overboard. The Admiral prevented this cruelty, and Providence ordered it, that on the following day they diſcovered land, which was ſo anxiouſly wiſhed for. They were ſtruck with this joyful ſight not far from Cape *St. Vincent*, and the next day, which was the 11th, they landed in *Cadiz*.

BOOK VI.

I. THEY found three ſhips in the harbour, juſt ready to ſet ſail for *Eſpanola*, with reinforcements and freſh ſtores; they cleared out on the 7th of June, under the command of *Peralonſo Ninô*, pilot of the main ſhip, who, in paſſing by *Gomera*, added to the proviſions an hundred ſheep, which he took from this place: a ſupply which proved the more welcome, as no veſſels had arrived at the deſtined place for ten months; for the four caravels, which had been ſent out in January, had unfortunately ſunk on the coaſt of *Spain*. The Admiral availed himſelf of this opportunity, to write a letter to his brother *Bartholomew*, in which he deſired him, for the purpoſe of reducing the iſland to perfect tranquillity, to arreſt all thoſe *Caziques* and *Indians* who had been found guilty of the murder of the *Spaniards*, and to ſend them to *Spain*; to eſtabliſh the mines at the *Hayna*, to look out for a convenient

convenient harbour near that river, and to plant a colony on the ſouthern coaſt. In *Spain* he endeavoured to remove the bad opinion of himſelf and his undertakings, though all thoſe that had lately returned from *India* appeared as witneſſes againſt him. Their palid and gloomy countenances reſembled gold indeed, with reſpect to its colour, but not in brightneſs; ſtriking pictures of diſappointed avidity. But minds ſubject to the tyranny of ſuch a deſtructive paſſion are never either ſatisfied, or cured of that diſeaſe. They never give up their vain and fruitleſs reſearches, as long as one glimmering ſpark of hope remains. *Columbus* availed himſelf of this elaſtic ſpring. To dazzle and draw over the common multitude, he prepared to ſet out on his march to *Burgos*, (where the court was held,) with the ſame pomp and ſplendour, that attracted the eyes of the numerous beholders the firſt time, and exhibited to view all the metals, colours, Braſil wood and ſpices, which he had brought along with him. The chief *Indians* were adorned with gold plates, maſks, and other inſignia of the ſame metal, amongſt which,

the pretended crown of the great *Caziques* ſhone in preference to the reſt. He revived the old ideas of the wealth of *India* in the minds of the intelligent and diſtinguiſhed, and impreſſed them with his conviction, that *Cuba* was the beginning of thoſe rich countries. No perſon was able to withſtand his ſpecious and plauſible arguments, which were founded on the authority of *Seneca* and *Ariſtotle*. He confounded every opponent by his determined and poſitive aſſertions, the authority he had acquired, the ſucceſs of his firſt diſcovery, and by his promiſe to elucidate and to remove every doubt of the ſecond diſcovery. Nay, he even rendered the paradoxical opinion of his having found the *Ophir* of *Solomon* plauſible. But what he placed beyond all doubt, were the advantages which he promiſed from the mines of *Hayna*, of which he ſhewed gold grains of the ſize of a nut, and alſo from the precious Braſil wood.

II. His accuſers either were not ſo numerous, or ſo inveterate againſt him, as he imagined, or they were not heard. From a report

a report ſtill exiſting, it appears, that they concurred with the Admiral in the main ſubject, but diminiſhed his exaggerations very much. The gold collected from the mines, according to their account, ſcarce amounted to ten marks, and that there was not as much more in the hands of the *Indians*. Of copper, about one hundred weight had been found; cotton would coſt a great deal of money to collect it. Of ſpice, there was only a ſmall quantity, and that not very fine; and they calculated, that it would require about two hundred foot, from fifteen to twenty horſe, and ten ſtout dogs, to ſubjugate the iſland, without any additional expence. This article of uſeleſs expenditure was the great hindrance, eſpecially under the circumſtances of the day. As the war with France had broke out, immenſe preparations were made by land and ſea in *Naples*, to regain that kingdom, which the French had taken with incredible velocity for the houſe of *Arragon*, in *Rouſſillon*, and other quarters, to put them in a proper ſtate of defence. Beſides, the intended reciprocal union in

marriage

marriage of the Prince and the Infanta *Donna Juana*, with *Margaret* and the Archduke *of Auſtria*, children of the Emperor *Maximilian*, was to take place. And independent of the great preparations for that purpoſe, a numerous and ſtrong ſquadron was ordered to be equipt, to conduct the Princeſs in ſafety to *Flanders*, and to return with the *Auſtrian* Princeſs to *Spain*.

III. The exalted minds of their Majeſties, however, ſuperior to all theſe cares, devoted all the neceſſary attention to the affairs of *India*. The glory of bringing a new world, as it were, into exiſtence, and diffuſing the light of the goſpel in it, the laudible ambition to eclipſe the navigation of *Solomon*, *Alexander*, and other celebrated Princes, conſpired to vanquiſh all the difficulties and obſtacles, which roſe to impede the purſuance of the diſcoveries, and the maintenance of the eſtabliſhment; nor did they wiſh to be excelled in noble conſtancy and perſeverance by the *Portugueſe*, who for many years, at a conſiderable expence of money, and the loſs of many men, with little

little profit, had endeavoured to purſue their glorious undertakings along the coaſt of *Africa*. Animated with ſuch ideas which *Columbus* raiſed in their minds, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, reſolved to yield to all his propoſals. Delay, however, was unavoidable. The Queen remained at *Laredo* till the departure of her daughter, towards the end of the ſummer; and the King did not return from the *French* frontiers till the beginning of autumn. Now, when the affairs of *India* were taken into conſideration, there were neither ſhips, men, nor money, as the urgent wants of the moment had engroſſed them all. Notwithſtanding, ſays *Caſas*, ſix millions of maravadis had been aſſigned to *Columbus*, but the draft had been recalled in conſequence of the neceſſity of that ſum for re-inforcing the province of *Rouſſillon*, after the *French* had made themſelves maſters of *Salſas*. To make good that intended grant, another ſum equal, or greater than the former, was ordered to be paid to him out of the treaſures which arrived from *Eſpalona*, under the ſuperintendance of *Peralonſo Ninô*, who had juſt entered

entered the harbour of *Cadiz* with three ſhips filled with ſlaves, and who, under the expectation of diſpoſing of them at a high price, rated the cargoes in his written report at the high ſum that he thought they would bring; a circumſtance which diſpleaſed their Majeſties very much, and which brought the colony into diſrepute, and turned very much to the prejudice of the Admiral. I do not diſcover the leaſt trace of the draft juſt mentioned. The arrival of veſſels, only fraught with *Indians* who refuſed to be ſold, thereby cauſed additional expences; and the accounts given by *Ninô*, and his men, relative to the ſtate of the colony, could be nothing leſs than favourable to the requiſitions of the Admiral. However, undoubtedly, the care and attention which the home concerns demanded, were the greateſt impediment to the affairs of *India*, which, indeed, were not ſeriouſly thought of till the ſummer following, when the noiſe of war was lulled, and the ſplendid nuptial feſtival of the Prince was over. And, even then it coſt a good deal of trouble to raiſe

men

men and money; a difficulty, which put the patience of the Admiral to a ſevere trial. What diſtreſſed him moſt of all was, the diſtreſſing thought of the ſufferings of his brothers, and the other coloniſts; for, according to the lateſt accounts, their ſituation muſt be extremely bad, and worſe evils were ſtill to be apprehended, which really proved to be the caſe.

IV. After the departure of the Admiral from *Eſpanola*, the *Adelantado*, (Vice-Governor,) for this was the title which *Bartholomew Columbus* bore from that time, went to the mines and erected a fort there, to which he gave the name of *St. Chriſtoral*, but, which the coloniſts commonly called *Del Oro*, on account of the gold found there. He ſtaid in this place for three months, and took the neceſſary ſteps to forward the progreſs of the mines; but the want of workmen, and food for his men compelled him to return to *Concepcion*, leaving behind him ten ſoldiers to guard the fort. He paſſed ſome time in the countries of *Guarionex*, and ſome other rulers

rulers of the *Vega*, lived at the expence of the *Indians*, and levied the taxes. In the mean time the arrival of the fleet under *Ninô*, the freſh proviſions from *Spain*, the reinforcement of ſome men, the good accounts of the Admiral, and the favour expected from the court through the mediation of ſuch an agent, revived and animated the drooping ſpirits of our coloniſts. Theſe ſhips, according to *Martir* and *Caſas*, ſpeedily returned, laden with three hundred *Iſlanders*. The Vice-Governor now ſet out for the mines of *St. Chriſtoval*, and from thence to the ſouthern coaſt, in order to eſtabliſh a harbour there, in conſequence of the Admiral's orders. He found a very convenient place for that purpoſe, about a day's journey from the mines, at the mouth of the *Ozama*, a conſiderable river abounding in fiſh, with pleaſant banks, and the ſoil covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and every kind of plants, and in general, an extraordinary fertility. He immediately laid the foundation of a fort on the eaſtern ſhore, and left twenty men to complete and garriſon it, after which, he went with the

the reſt of his people to examine the ſouth weſtern provinces, which as yet were only known by rumour.

V. After a march of thirty leagues, he alighted on the river *Neyba*; from thence he continued his way to the weſt, beyond that river; he found an army of *Indians* encamped under the command of *Bohechio Anacuacoa*, the head *Cazique* of thoſe provinces, who, as *Bartholomew* was informed, took the field to conquer the people who lived on the banks of the river. He received the *Spaniards* in a peaceable manner, and wiſhed to know the cauſe of their arrival in that quarter. The Vice-governor informed him that all the other *Caziques* of the iſland had ſubmitted to the ſovereignty of their Catholic Majeſties, and entered into the obligation of paying them a tribute, and that he would be obliged to follow their example. How is it poſſible, ſaid the *Cazique*, as my dominions do not yield any gold? This anſwer proves that the report might be general, that the foreigners only came in purſuit of that ore. The Vice-

governor

governor undeceived him, and told him that the tribute could be alſo paid in cazabe, cotton, and other productions in which the iſland abounded. This information calmed the mind of *Behechio*, who now liberally offered all that ſhould be deſired. He diſmiſſed his troops, and conducted the *Spaniards* to *Jaragua*, the place of his uſual reſidence, about ninety miles from the river *Neyba*. It ſeemsthat the *Spaniards* did not all take the ſame way. Two diviſions of twenty-five men each drew to the left, took their way to the ſouthern coaſt, and diſcovered whole foreſts of Braſil wood; they cut down a conſiderable quantity of this precious timber, and laid it up in huts till it could be conveyed away by the *Spaniſh* ſhips. The General marched with the greateſt part of the men along the ſhore of the lake *Jaragua*, the name alſo of the capital and the whole country. Theſe provinces were wealthy, very well inhabited, and ruled by ſeveral *Caziques*, under the ſupreme authority of *Behechio*. Theſe rulers, after the example of their ſovereign, paid homage to their Catholic

Catholic Majeſties, and freely conſented to the tribute which was demanded from them.

VI. The journey was relieved by ſucceſſive feſtivities and rejoicings, but all theſe divertiſſements were far exceeded by thoſe that were prepared at the court of the *Cazique*. All the people came to meet their ſovereign and his gueſts, and received them with a thouſand demonſtrations of joy. Near the habitation of the prince, thirty of his women appeared, with palm branches in their hands, and danced and ſung after their manner, and at laſt preſented thoſe branches to the General on bended knees. An enchanting ſpectacle to our coloniſts, on whom the nakedneſs and geſticulations of theſe females made ſuch an impreſſion, that they fancied they ſaw the fabulous nymphs of old. Such they appeared, eſpecially the young unmarried girls, quite naked, their hair flowing down their ſhoulders, and brows ſhaded with a bandeau of cotton. The married women, and thoſe that were advanced in years, wore ſhort aprons round their loins. When night approached, a luxuriant ſupper was given,

after which the people retired to reſt. On the next day, greater banquetings and entertainments were prepared. Several dances were exhibited in a houſe peculiarly appropriated for that purpoſe. A ſham battle was alſo diſplayed betwixt two hoſtile armies, in a large field, and that with ſo true and lively a repreſentation, that having firſt diſcharged their arrows, they then cloſed hand to hand; in a ſhort time four men were killed, and a great number wounded. The loſs would have been ſtill greater, had not an end been put to this martial ſport at the earneſt entreaty of the *Spaniards*. Theſe demonſtrations of joy and friendſhip, as well as the ſubmiſſion and obedience of the *Cazique*, and his willingneſs to pay the tribute required, aroſe, it ſeems, from the influence of his ſiſter *Anacaona*, an admirably prudent and intelligent woman, ſuch as could not be expected to be found among ſuch people. She had been married to the fierce *Caonabo*, and warned by the unfortunate fate of her huſband, ſhe gave her brother this ſalutary advice, to preſerve his freedom and power. This is to be deduced from what afterwards hap-

happened, though *Martir*, the writer of this narration, does not mention any thing of *Anacaona* in relating this incident.

VII. Be that as it may, as ſoon as the Governor had obtained his object, he ſet out immediately for *Iſabella*, without meeting, as far as is known, any obſtacle or diſagreeable accident in a march of eighty leagues, which he had to travel. He found the inhabitants of the town in the moſt wretched ſtate, almoſt all ſick, not a few dead, and deſtitute of any medicine or nutriment; nay, without the common neceſſaries of life. The victuals brought ſome months before from *Spain* by the *Nina*, arrived in a putrid ſtate, and what was edible had been conſumed. A ſcarcity of proviſions pervaded the whole iſland, partly becauſe a great number of the iſlanders had fled from the perſecution of the *Spaniards* to the mountains, in conſequence of which many plantations were left uncultivated, partly becauſe the grounds that were tilled were not ſufficient to repay their cultivators and the coloniſts, eſpecially after the dreadful

hurricane that had raged the preceding year. As many iſlanders had already died in conſequence of theſe diſaſtrous circumſtances, others had withdrawn from the vicinity of the town, where the diſtreſs muſt naturally be felt in a greater degree than elſewhere; beſides, a number of them had been carried over as ſlaves to *Spain*; the reſult was the greateſt want and diſtreſs in the town and its environs. In addition to this calamity, the ſhips that were ſo eagerly expected with freſh proviſions delayed coming, nor was there a ſingle veſſel, which could have been ſent, to carry home an account of their unſpeakable diſtreſs, which became every moment more and more alarming. The prudent Vice-governor, however, took every meaſure that could poſſibly be taken. He ordered two ſhips to be built, left only the moſt neceſſary perſons in the town, diſtributed the reſt in the moſt wealthy diſtricts, and erected five villages along the road from *Concepcion*, to the harbour of *Ozama*. Each of theſe villages was guarded with a little fort. *Eſperanza* lay nine leagues from *Ozama*, *Santa Catarina* fifteen, *Santiago* nineteen and

and a half, and *Concepcion* twenty-four, which laſt was fortified with particular care, becauſe it lay at the foot of the great chain of mountains, half a league from the dwelling place of *Guarionex*, in a very populous and fertile plain. Here, as it ſeems, the Vice-governor remained for ſome time, to the year 1497, when he inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on account of religion.

VIII. The inſtruction and converſion of the *Indians*, peculiarly engaged the care and attention of *Fray Roman Pane*, of the order of *S. Hieronymus*, and *Fray Juan Borgonon*, a *Franciſcan*. They were indefatigable in their miſſion. *Pane*, in particular, animated with a holy enthuſiaſm, learned the language of *Macoriz*, (a provincial dialect of the general language of the inhabitants) in leſs than a year, and inſtructed a family, conſiſting of ſixteen perſons, in the principal truths of chriſtianity. When the firſt *Alcayde Juan de Ayala* was obliged to go to *Guatiguana*, in conſequence of the ſedition which broke out there, he accompanied him to *Concepcion*, and took *Guaycavanu*, one of his beſt diſ-

ciples, along with him, who was well acquainted with the language generally ſpoken in the dominions of *Guarionex*. As ſoon as our paſtor had learned it himſelf, he zealouſly began to inſtruct the *Cazique* and his family in the principles of Chriſtianity; at the ſame time he did not neglect *Guaycavanu* and his family, who lived in company with him, and who deſerved by every means to be admitted into the church. This *Guaycavanu* was the firſt who received baptiſm, on the 21ſt of September, 1496. On that ſacred occaſion he got the name of *Juan Mateo*. His pious endeavours were not crowned with the ſame ſucceſs in the houſe of *Guarionex*. He, as well as *Borgonon*, laboured about two years to win this prince over to the new religion, and to lead him and ſeveral perſons of his houſehold ſo far as to learn the creed, pater-noſter, and other articles of the catechiſm, and to recite them twice a day. But our catachumen at length changed his mind and conduct, at the inſtance of other *Caziques*, who reproached him for his inclination to the religion of the *Chriſtians*, a malignant rapacious

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nation, who had ſeized on his country, with the addition that they ought not to be gratified in any one thing, and that all the princes of the country ought to unite their ſtrength to extirpate them. When our miſſionaries obſerved this alteration, they reſolved to depart, and reſort to the province of another *Cazique*, of the name of *Maviatue*, where they hoped to reap better fruit, becauſe this chief had expreſſed a wiſh to embrace Chriſtianity. They took *Juan Mateo* with them, and left the care and ſuperintendance of a little chapel, which they had prepared in a certain houſe, to his brother and relations. Two days after their departure ſix *Indians*, by the order of *Guarionex*, ſtole the holy images of the chapel, broke them in pieces, trampled on them with their feet, and buried them in an *Ages* field. The Vice-governor was informed of this outrage, he cauſed the perpetrators to be tried, and condemned them to be burnt, which ſentence was put into public execution.

IX. After, by the ſeverity of this ſentence, he had thrown the country into fear, he forti-

fied the fort, and diſtributed ſome of the ſick who began to recover into cottages, and continued his march to the ſouth. He erected a fort about ten leagues from *Concepcion*, and *S. Chriſtoval*, which was more important than the reſt, becauſe it was planted between mountains, and on the frontiers of *Bonao*, a powerful *Cazique*, whoſe name the fortreſs bore, as well as the whole place and province; at length he reached the port of *Ozama* on the ſouthern coaſt, where he wiſhed to eſtabliſh ſuch another town as that of *Iſabella*. As he ranged the neighbouring countries in ſearch of food, and for the purpoſe at the ſame time, of rendering the *Caziques* tributary, he received an account from *Concepcion*, that the *Indians* of theſe diſtricts, inflamed with reſentment againſt the *Spaniards*, had evinced ſymptoms of a dangerous rebellion. In fact the moſt powerful *Caziques* of that quarter had united for that purpoſe. *Guarionex* at firſt refuſed to accede to the plot through timidity, but by unremitting perſuaſion they at laſt prevailed on him to join them. They collected troops privately, and reſolved on a fixed day to attack the

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Spaniards, and to kill them all together. Their deſigns were gueſſed at. The Governor haſtened with his men by forced marches, and found means to get into the fortreſs unperceived. He reſolved to arreſt all the leaders in one night, before they could put their plan into execution, and appointed Captains for that purpoſe, with an armed force under the command of each, to ſecure the priſoners. He took upon himſelf to ſeize on *Guarionex*; the project ſucceeded without failure in any part. Fourteen *Caziques* were brought priſoners to *Concepcion* in the night fixed on. Two of them who were convicted of being the very leaders of the conſpiracy, were beheaded. The reſt were pardoned after a ſtrong admonition and ſevere reprehenſion, and reſtored with clemency to their ſubjects, who, to the number of about five thouſand, without any other arms but tears and lamentations, aſſembled, and ſupplicated, like ſo many inconſolable orphans, the lives and liberties of their fathers. This rigour, tempered with mercy, produced the deſired effect. The princes and their vaſſals took it for a warning,

warning, acknowledged their faults with ſubmiſſion, without leaving their country or poſſeſſions, a circumſtance which it was juſtly dreaded would have been the reſult of a greater ſeverity, and which, if it had happened, would have turned out to the greateſt diſtreſs of our Coloniſts, whoſe ſubſiſtence depended on the cultivated fields of the *Indians*.

X. Thus tranquillity was reſtored for the preſent among the *Indians*, but this was not the caſe with the minds of the *Spaniards*; they were much diſſatisfied to find themſelves in a remote country, under the command of a foreigner, who kept them under a perpetual ſtrict diſcipline, fatigued by unremitting labour, painful marches, in want even of the bread made of *Yuca* and maiz, their cloaths quite ragged, ſubjected to a thouſand other inconveniencies and calamities, all of which they attributed to the fault of the Admiral, who had not performed his promiſe of ſending them any relief ſince his departure, which was now fourteen months. The Vice-governor conſoled them with hopes, on which they

they placed no reliance, except thoſe which depended on the ſhips, which were building with great activity. In the mean time ſome *Indians* arrived with a meſſage from *Bohechio*, in *Jaragua*, ſtating that the tribute was collected. The Governor availed himſelf of this welcome opportunity to divide the turbulent, and to employ a great part of them in a manner agreeable to their wiſhes. He marched thither, and was received with much courteſy and reſpect at the court of *Bohechio*, where alſo the diſtinguiſhed princeſs *Anacaona*, and thirty-two petty *Caziqes* expected him. They had brought with them ſeveral ſorts of delicacies independent of the ſtipulated quantity of cotton and food, in order to gain the good will of the *Spaniards*. In a ſhort time, a whole cottage was filled with raw and ſpun cotton. An immenſe quantity of maize and cazabe was likewiſe furniſhed, becauſe the *Caziques* did not confine themſelves merely to the diſcharge of their obligation, but offered of both kinds of corn as much as the *Spaniards* would chuſe. The Vice-governor received the offer with gratitude, and ſent orders to the

the town to prepare one of the caravels, and to ſend her immediately to the harbour of *Jaragua*, that ſhe might be freighted with victuals, and then to ſail back to *Iſabella* with the utmoſt ſpeed. Whilſt bread was the chief article of conſideration in the neighbouring provinces, here the *Spaniards* feaſted, and rioted in luxury at court, where they were entertained, and pampered quite up to their wiſhes. They were furniſhed with abundance of delicacies, ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, Utias, and the ſavoury Iguanas, a diſh reſerved for perſons of high rank only. At firſt the *Spaniards* refuſed to eat of this *Indian* luxury, as they looked upon it to be loathſome, and repugnant to their appetite. At laſt the Vice-governor, perſuaded by *Anacaona*, taſted a bit of them, the *Spaniards* followed his example, and in a ſhort time they reliſhed them ſo well, as to prefer theſe animals to pheaſants and turkies.

XI. The feaſts and banquets were crowned with the arrival of the caravel, an object of aſtoniſhment to the *Indians*. *Anacaona* and *Bohe-*

Bohechio went to view the veſſel, accompanied by the Governor. The ſhip ſaluted them with the diſcharge of her guns. The *Indians* were ſo ſtunned, that they ſuppoſed the whole univerſe was falling into ruins; when they recovered a little from their fright, they went on board, and viewed all the parts of the veſſel with admiration. They could not conceive how it was poſſible that ſuch a bulky body could be turned and managed with ſo much eaſe, by the wind alone, without oars. They were entertained beſides with a dance and military muſic. All that they ſaw, contributed to heighten the idea which they entertained, of the greatneſs and unparallelled ſuperiority of the *Spaniards*, and their deſire to pleaſe them and gain their good will. *Anacaona* diſtinguiſhed herſelf as much by her preſents and complaiſance, as by her talents and politeneſs. The night before they viſited the harbour, ſhe feaſted all the *Spaniards* in a place belonging to herſelf, where ſhe poſſeſſed a *Caney*, or large houſe, adorned with ſplendid furniture and other articles, with chairs, or *Duhos*, as they called

called them, plates, bowls, and other veſſels. Theſe were made of a black ſhining wood, which was thought to be ebony of the fineſt quality. They were hollowed, rendered ſmooth, and poliſhed by the means of fire. The inſtruments employed on this occaſion were flints and pebble ſtones, extremely hard. They, without any other aid, but natural emulation and patience, formed excellent and admirable pieces of artificial work, with figures of men, animals, and ſeveral things in groteſque ſhapes, on half relief. The Governor took fourteen *Duhos*, or chairs, and about ſixty articles of other furniture with him, beſides preſents which are not particularly mentioned. The munificence of this celebrated heroine, raiſed an emulation in her brother, and the ſubaltern *Caziques*. The ſhip fraught with ſo many gifts ſet ſail for *Iſabella*; and the Governor, filled with ſatisfaction and pleaſure, ſet out for the ſame town, where he found, by ſad experience, that human joys and pleaſures frequently end in ſorrow and calamity.

XII.

XII. The ſparks of mutiny, which had not been quite extinguiſhed when he ſet out for *Jaragua*, had burſt out after his departure into an open flame; the uſual reſult of malcontentneſs, hunger, and an ill-adminiſtered juſtice. *Don Diego Columbus* was an honeſt, well-principled man, but devoid of courage and firmneſs. The ſecond in command to him, inſtead of calling his additional authority in to his aid, placed himſelf at the head of the malcontents. His name was *Franciſco Roldan*, a native of *Torre de D. Gimeno*, near *Jaen*. He had been raiſed, by the Admiral, from the low ſituation of a footman, by degrees, to the rank of chief juſtice of the colony. A great fault, indeed, to raiſe a man of a few good qualities, and deſtitute of merit, without reflecting, at the ſame time, that gratitude to their benefactor is the firſt duty which ſuch reptiles neglect. *Roldan* ſoon evinced that he belonged to this claſs of wretches, by ſpreading a report, that the Admiral either never would return, in conſequence of the unfavourable report of *Aguado*, or that he would forget the concerns of the iſland

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in the giddy intoxicating pleaſures of the court. The only means then left to avoid ſtarvation, was, that as many of them ſhould embark as the caravel, then juſt got ready, would contain, and to preſs the ſupport of the reſt. A great number of the coloniſts were ready to fall in with this propoſal; and after many abuſive ſpeeches, they aſſembled before *D. Diego Columbus*, and urged him to launch the ſhip which lay as yet in dock on the ſtocks. *Don Diego* refuſed to comply with theſe demands, eſpecially as the rigging and tackling requiſite in ſo long a voyage were not finiſhed. Notwithſtanding, they perſiſted with obſtinacy and violence in their demands. *Roldan*, the ring-leader of the party, declared that he would put their deſign into execution, in ſpite of the Vice Governor. He inveighed againſt him and his brothers in the moſt rancourous and reproachful terms; ſaid they were foreigners, greedy of ambition and avaricious tyrants, and enemies to the *Spaniards*, by which he ſucceeded in drawing over a great number of the vulgar to his ſide. The urgent neceſſity,

neceſſity, however, of providing for the general good and ſafety, ſtopped the progreſs of the rebellion. The *Indians* about *Concepcion* ſeemed to be in motion, and to conſpire to the deſtruction of that fortreſs and the garriſon. In order to prevent it, *Don Diego* ſent a company of forty ſoldiers, under the command of *Roldan* for that place, by which he removed all at once two menacing dangers; though the ſaid evils were not yet radically cured, as the *Indians* were unwilling to bear the oppreſſions of the coloniſts, and the latter to endure the inconveniencies of their diſtreſsful ſituation.

XIII. When the Governor and *Roldan* returned from their expedition, the flames of diſcord broke out afreſh. The ſailing of the caravel was inſiſted on with increaſed violence, in proportion to the oppoſition of the Governor. His authority as well as his nautical experience were ſet at nought. He expoſtulated in vain with them on the dangers they would expoſe themſelves to, by attempting ſo long a voyage in a veſſel

that was not properly equipped for the purpoſe. He was charged with an intention of tyrannizing over the colony. He was upbraided with being a foreigner, diſaffected and unkind to the *Spaniards*, capricious and cruel; in conſequence of which, they declared it neceſſary either to refuſe obedience to him, or to kill him, in order to prevent their own entire deſtruction. In the midſt of all theſe tempeſtuous motions, the Vice-Governor remained firm and reſolute; he took care to adminiſter juſtice, and reſolved to ſet an example of it in the puniſhment of a certain man called *Barahona*, an accomplice of the mutineers. *Roldan* conceived that the day appointed for the execution of this criminal would be very opportune to murder the Vice-Governor; but, luckily, the latter pardoned the convict, and the plot was diſcloſed. When the ringleader ſaw himſelf betrayed, he marched with his partiſans to *Vega*. His deſign was to make himſelf maſter of *Concepcion*, to return thence with augmented force, and to conquer the town and

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the whole country. In his marches, he ſtrove to ſeduce the *Spaniards* ſcattered in theſe quarters, and the natives. To the latter, he promiſed exemption from taxes; to the former, a free and unreſtrained life, exempt from the reſtraints impoſed by the inexorable *Columbus* and his brother, who would not permit them to make uſe of the *Indians* as ſlaves and labourers, to ſeize the women, and to traffic and acquire gold for themſelves; and who under the pretext of the royal ſalary, which never was paid, fatigued them inceſſantly with working in plantations, and aſſiſting in raiſing buildings, till they were almoſt ſtarved with hunger, and moreover puniſhed them with ſeverity for every petty offence. The rebel aſſembled all his men in the chief place of a Cazique, called *Marque*, two leagues from *Concepcion*, where he diſcloſed his deſign to make himſelf maſter of the fortreſs. He then went to the reſidence of *Guarionex*, where Captain *Garcia Barrantes* was ſtationed with thirty men; but he was diſappointed in the ſeduction of them through the watchfulneſs of the commander, who, apprized of the de-

ſign of the inſurgents, kept back his men from any communication with them, and ſhut himſelf up with them in a houſe, where he remained faithful to his truſt, in defiance of every menace. *Roldan* carried off all the proviſions, and marched to the fort of *Concepcion*. *Miguel Balliſter*, the commander of it, an honeſt *Catalonian*, would not permit him to enter it, in conſequence of the notice which he had received of the baſe intention of the traitor, by ſome perſons who had come from the aforeſaid place. Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of his firſt attempt, he ſtill endeavoured to ſeduce the men, and really brought ſuch a number of partizans together, as to render his ſuperiority dreadful.

XIV. *Balliſter* informed the Vice-Governor by letter of the alarming ſtate of affairs, who immediately collected as many ſoldiers as he could, and marched without delay to join that commander. As he wiſhed, however, to ſettle the difference amicably, hearing that *Roldán* had advanced half a league into the dominions of *Guarionex*, he ſent a perſon to him to repreſent, though in a friendly

friendly and gentle way, the impropriety and imprudence of his conduct, and hoped by this means to bring him back to a ſenſe of duty. The only effect of this meaſure was, that he conſented to negociate with the Governor under a ſafe-guard. In this negociation he inſiſted afreſh on the fitting out of the caravel. After many inſolent and contumelious expreſſions, he concluded with declaring, that he would remain in arms, united with his party, becauſe he knew that the Governor bore him a deadly hatred; and that, notwithſtanding he now affected to be kind and clement towards him, he would ſeize the firſt opportunity of glutting his revenge. When he was cited before a tribunal, and commanded to deliver the ſtaff and ſurrender up the name of chief juſtice, he anſwered, that he was ready to do both in the preſence of an impartial judge, and by the order of the King, who had inveſted him with that dignity. In the mean time, however, he was willing to take his abode wherever he ſhould be directed; but when the province of a Cazique, called *Diego Columbus*, was ap-

pointed for that purpoſe, he objected to it, as he ſaid there were not victuals in it ſufficient for himſelf and his men, and that he could not help ſeeking a more convenient diſtrict.

XV. He marched to the town, and tried in vain to get the caravel launched; he plundered the public magazine of proviſions, arms and colours, without any regard to the authority of the Governor, who was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the fortreſs. Having committed all theſe depredations, he left *Iſabella*, reſolved to march with his men to the ſtates of *Bohechio*, becauſe he had heard certain perſons ſpeak with tranſport of the wealth, cultivation, and fertility of thoſe provinces, particularly of the beauty and charms of the women. He provided himſelf with cattle and beaſts of burden out of the King's herd; but before he ſet out for this expedition, he took it into his head to try his ſtrength with the Governor, to ſurprize him in the fort of *Vega*, and to ſtrip him of his dignity. What induced him to adopt this reſolution, was a perſuaſion, that a great

a great many of the *Spaniards*, who had remained faithful to the Government, might be allured by flattering promiſes to join him. But he was miſtaken; the Vice-Governor, who was acquainted with his deſign, put himſelf in a ſtate of defence; he aſſured himſelf of the fidelity of his men, by promiſing them more certain rewards than the traitor was able to hold out, and among others, two *Indian* ſlaves to each for their ſervice. Thus armed with authority and courage, he went in ſearch of the enemy, determined to decide by force of arms, what he could not accompliſh by the force of reaſon and friendly remonſtrances. *Roldan*, diſcouraged by this bold reſolution, eſpecially when he ſaw himſelf diſappointed in the ſoldiers, not one of whom deſerted over to him, thought proper to retreat to *Jaragua*; yet he loitred for ſome time in the environs, and endeavoured to ſtir up the *Indians* againſt the Governor. He gave out, that he had withdrawn himſelf from him, becauſe he was a cruel, revengeful man. He imputed to him and his brothers an inſatiable avarice and ambition, which was the cauſe of the

intolerable burthens which they had laid upon the natives, contrary to the will of the King and Queen, who, ſatisfied with the obedience and pacific diſpoſitions of their vaſſals, intended to have them protected in their rights and liberties. He pretended to be the defender and protector of the oppreſſed *Indians*, and drew them into a reſolution to refuſe the tribute laid on them, and to riſe up in arms. Thus he obtained his malignant deſign, to gain the inclination and gifts of the natives; to render the Governor, and his faithful followers odious; and to throw the colony and the whole country into a ſtate of confuſion and diſturbance.

XVI. The aſpect of affairs in reality grew worſe and worſe, the ulcer ſpread further and further. The taxes impoſed on the diſtricts remote from *Concepcion* did not come in, and thoſe of the neighbouring ones were not preſſed either, leſt any occaſion might be given to exaſperate the *Indians*, who, however, on ſeeing the weak ſide, inſtead of remaining quiet, grew more daring, and fomented inſurrections, in hopes of

of throwing off the foreign yoke entirely. The *Spaniards*, who remained faithful, and dreaded leſt the mutineers ſhould unite themſelves with the rebellious iſlanders, were almoſt all confined to two places, the town of *Iſabella*, and the new eſtabliſhment of *Concepcion de la Vega*. Deprived of the contributions, without courage to enforce the payment of them, the conſequence could not be otherwiſe, than at laſt, that they muſt break out into loud complaints and an inclination to deſert. To prevent deſertions and other greater outrages, it was neceſſary to uſe indulgence, and to connive at ſeveral things. From this relaxation of diſcipline a diſorder aroſe, which the ſtrength of the Governor was no longer ſufficient to remove. The evil encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that, very probably, in the beginning of the year 1498, the colony might have ſunk into a miſerable end, if, happily, two ſhips had not arrived with proviſions and reinforcements of men.

XVII. What evils do not ariſe from the negligence and indifference with which miniſters

miniſters look on the urgent diſtreſſes and wants of diſtant poſſeſſions! However ardently *Columbus* urged his ſpeedy diſpatch, yet he could ſcarcely obtain it after twelve months. It ſeems, however, that his own demands and pretenſions, by which he endeavoured to aſcertain his perſonal honour, and the intereſt of his family, contributed a good deal to this delay. Theſe negociations gave him much trouble and ſorrow, and imbittered his life, which appears from a letter which he wrote to his brother *Bartholomew*, though in conſequence of the happy ſucceſs of his buſineſs, he might add with juſtice, that no important matter can be brought about without trouble, and that a perſon enjoys with greater delight that which he has obtained with much difficulty. In fact, his wiſhes were at laſt completely gratified. He obtained a new confirmation of his privileges; an accurate explanation of the rights and liberties of the *Indian* admiralty-ſhip, with the title of Admiral of *Caſtile*; the remiſſion of the ſums, which, according to agreement, he would have been obliged

to

to pay, as his ſhare, towards the charges of the whole undertaking; and the grant of all that he had received, or ſpent for his own uſe. Beſides this, it was ſettled, that he ſhould have for the three ſucceſſive years, the eighth part of the whole profit, without contributing any thing to the expence, with the conceſſion, that his ſhare ſhould be taken from the groſs amount, previous to the deduction of the expences; moreover, he was authorized to eſtabliſh the law of promogeniture. He might alſo have obtained the perpetuity of ſeventy-five leagues of land in the iſland of *Eſpanola*, which their Majeſties were willing to grant him, with the title of Count or Duke; but he declined this offer, becauſe he thought ſo great a favour might increaſe calumny, or furniſh freſh matter for the intrigues which he had already to encounter. On the other hand, he did not ſcruple to forward and ſupport the unjuſt and odious propoſition of repealing the general grant, made two years before, to ſeek out and barter gold, which the court conſented to, becauſe this grant would trench on his privileges. There was another flattering

tering favour added to theſe, that he was to be conſulted in all orders and regulations relative to *India* affairs, ſo that nothing could be done in that department, without his own knowledge, or that of ſuch perſons as he ſhould think proper to depute. Finally, their Majeſties alſo conferred new marks of royal eſtimation on his family. His brother *Bartholomew* was inveſted with the title of Governor of the iſlands and the continent. His ſons, after the death of the Prince their maſter, were taken by the Queen into her houſe and ſervice.

XVIII. So many favours were heaped upon the Admiral, partly out of conſideration for the important ſervices which he had already rendered to the crown; and partly, in the expectation founded on his ſkill, zeal, and intrepidity, that he would certainly accompliſh his promiſe to ſecure the dominion of *Eſpanola*, and diſcover the continent of *India*. Eight ſhips were granted to him for the attainment of theſe two objects, with men, ammunition, proviſions, and other articles, which

which he required. Three hundred and thirty perſons were engaged and taken into pay, for the purpoſe of going out to the *Indies*, and to remain there, namely, forty horſemen, one hundred foot ſoldiers, ſixty ſeamen and cabbin boys, twenty miners, fifty plough-men, ten gardeners, twenty mechanics in ſeveral lines of handicraft, and thirty women; beſides, a phyſician, an apothecary, a botaniſt, a muſician for the amuſement of the people, and ſome clergymen. Five hundred volunteers, who offered to go without pay, received, over and above the advantages already granted to the planters, ſupply of corn and cattle to facilitate their culture. An order was given to eſtabliſh a plantation on the ſouthern coaſt, where it might ſeem moſt convenient, to build mills, to promote agriculture, to erect a mint for iſſuing *Excellentes**; and to take along with

* A gold coin, which was current in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and earlier. *Alfonſo* had previouſly coined 1254 *Excellentes*, which were executed in imitation of the ducats current at that time. Sixty-five and one-third were equal to a *Caſtilian* mark of 23¾ fine Karat.

them

them all the animals, utenſils, and other requiſites for all theſe purpoſes. Immenſe ſtores of proviſions were furniſhed; and to prevent, in future, the want of food, as well as of wearing apparel and other neceſſary commodities, wealthy perſons were engaged to furniſh them on their own account, and to ſell them according to the preſcribed regulation at reaſonable prices; for which, money was to be advanced to them by the King. All that was exported and imported to and from the colony, was exempted from public duties. Every poſſible care and impartial juſtice were recommended to the tribunals, with reſpect to the property of perſons deceaſed, and the execution of wills. It was particularly enjoined to treat the *Indians* with kindneſs, and to lead them into chriſtianity and peaceful ſubmiſſion to the *Spaniſh* crown, without omitting the levy of the taxes, although with advice, at the ſame time, to inflict but a light puniſhment on thoſe who ſhould not be punctual in the diſcharge of their tribute.

XIX. When

XIX. When the Admiral had concluded his negotiations, and the Biſhop of *Badajoz* had received orders to fit out the fleet, a diſagreeable circumſtance aroſe, which was, that the *Spaniards* diſcovered very little inclination to offer themſelves for the ſervice and eſtabliſhment of *Eſpanola*. The opinion of *India* was ſunk ſo low, that in order to collect a ſufficient number of hired planters, it was neceſſary to reſort to extraordinary expedients. An order was, therefore, directed to all the courts of juſtice, to commute the puniſhment of any convict of either ſex, ſentenced to be tranſported to any iſland, or out of the kingdom, or to work in the mines, and to mitigate the ſentence of thoſe that were condemned to puniſhment for life to ten years in the new colony, and thoſe that were condemned for a certain number of years to half the time, if they would embark for *Eſpanola*. Beſides, a general pardon was publicly offered to criminals of all deſcription, provided they appeared within a certain time before the Admiral, and conſented to ſerve in *India*. Thoſe that were capitally convicted,

convicted for two years; and thoſe that were ſubject to leſs puniſhment, half that time. Such, however, were excepted, who had been guilty of high treaſon, hereſy, treachery, perfidy, aſſaſſination by means of fire or arrows, falſe coinage, ſodomy, exportation of coin, gold, ſilver, and other prohibited articles out of the kingdom. The *Portugueſe* availed themſelves of ſuch exiles for dangerous undertakings, and *Vaſco de Gama* took a number of them along with him in the ſucceſsful navigation, which was then preparing to ſail round the Cape of *Good Hope*, for the purpoſe of diſcovering *India*. The diſcoverer of the new world went in this, as in all other things, a ſtep farther; and thus the King and Queen, who favoured his meaſures, and yielded to his requeſt and the imperious calls of neceſſity, in the beginning, where virtue ought to have been looked upon as the foundation-ſtone of the eſtabliſhment, ſowed the ſeeds of the corruption of the colony, and ſet a bad example, which has been ſince imitated by the moſt enlightened nation, in ſimilar circumſtances, and, perhaps, under leſs excuſable

cuſable circumſtances. In the preſent inſtance, the difficulties which occaſioned this meaſure were ſo great, that notwithſtanding this new expedient, almoſt twelve months had paſſed away, before the eight ſhips were ready to put to ſea.

XX. The money which had been aſſigned to him in the month of April, in all probability, was not ſufficient to cover the expences. Nor did the Admiral receive the half of the money voted for the equipment, till the month of October, and even theſe three millions of Maravedis, he would not have received at the time, but through the particular favour of the Queen, who, notwithſtanding the ſumptuous nuptials of the Infanta *Donna Iſabella* with the King of *Portugal*, helped him to them. For all that, about four months elapſed before *Pedro Fernandez*, the commander of *Iſabella* could be diſpatched with the two caravels, which ſaved the colony, and three other full months before *Columbus* himſelf could ſet out with the remaining ſix ſhips. Sixty penſioned perſons embarked in the former, five

volunteers and ten criminals deſtined to remain in *Eſpanola*. In the latter ſquadron, one hundred *Spaniards* in pay were taken aboard: of the other claſſes, the number is not known; in proportion, it might amount to forty-five perſons. More than half, however, were ſtill wanting to complete the number at firſt determined. This tireſome delay, as well as the low credit of *Indian* affairs and the unwillingneſs of the men, chiefly aroſe from the bad underſtanding betwixt *Columbus* and the Biſhop of *Badajoz*, who did not agree about the preparation of the fleet. The animoſity of the prelate was more and more excited, through the repeated orders which he received, with reſpect to the gold withheld from *Diego Columbus*. He, therefore, ſeized the preſent opportunity of ſhewing his deadly hatred to the full extent of his power, and he, as well as his accountant, *Gimeno de Brivieſca*, tormented the Admiral with perpetual contradictions.

XXI. When ſo many obſtacles and difficulties were ſurmounted, *Columbus* ſet out from

from *S. Lucar* on the 30th of May, 1498. In order to avoid *French* cruizers, he ſteered a new courſe to the *Canary* iſlands, and ſailed by the way of *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. He ſtopped at the latter iſland for ſix days, and laid in ſeveral articles of proviſions, which he found there in abundance, and very cheap; the effect of the zeal of the *Portugueſe* in promoting agriculture, eſpecially the cultivation of ſugar, the abundance of which may be conceived from this, that a pipe of ſugar juice ſold for two ducats, an excellent aliment, and according to the Admiral, a very wholeſome beverage. On the 21ſt of June, after reſting two days in *Gomera*, he ſet out on his voyage to the *New World*. On the height, and in ſight of the iſle of *Ferro*, he diſpatched three ſhips, under the command of *Pedro de Arana*, *Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal*, and his kinſman, *Juan Antonio Colombo*, to haſten to the relief of the colony. He ordered them to keep the ſame courſe, which the fleet took in 1493, till they came within view of the eaſtern coaſt of *Eſpanola*, then to ſteer along the ſouth ſide, and land at the new

town; the foundation of which, according to the King's command, was ſuppoſed to have been laid.

XXII. He ſteered himſelf with a large ſhip, and two caravels to the iſles of *Cape de Verde*, barren and ſteril iſlands, to which the name of *green*, perhaps, was given on the contrary account. The other iſland had as little claim to the name *Buena Viſta*, which it carries. He rode at anchor at this laſt, from the 27th to the laſt day of June, amongſt a miſerable people, moſtly covered with the leproſy, who endeavoured to cure themſelves by eating tortoiſes and drinking their blood. He wiſhed to catch ſome wild goats, of which there were a vaſt number on the iſland; but as this would require too much time, he ſailed to *Santiago*, the reſidence of the *Portugueſe* Governor, to purchaſe great cattle for *Eſpanola*. He could not ſuceeed in this as ſpeedily as he wiſhed, and, therefore, he haſtened away from this wretched region, where he dreaded that his men might fall ſick. For as long as he remained in this tract of the ocean, he neither

neither ſaw ſun nor ſtars. The ſky was enveloped in a thick ſultry fog, and the inhabitants looked ſickly and miſerable. His courſe to the ſouth was, however, greatly impeded by the violent currents which ran to the north and north-eaſt; ſo that, notwithſtanding, he left *Santiago* on the 5th of July, he had not loſt ſight of the *Volcano* of the iſle of *del Fuego* on the 7th of the ſame month. When he got clear of thoſe impediments, he reſolved to ſteer ſouth-weſtward to the line, and then to make due weſtward to ſeek the continent of *India*. After he had ſailed four hundred and eighty leagues, and had got under the fifth degree of latitude, according to his obſervation, the breeze ſunk into a calm, accompanied with ſuch exceſſive heat, that it was feared the ſhips would be burnt. The barrels ſplit, the hoops ſtarted from the caſks, and the water, with the liquors, leaked out. The calm laſted eight days, the firſt was clear, and the heat of the ſun intolerable. The following days were varied with rain and clouds, and the heat abated a little. In this ſituation, our ſailors condoled themſelves with the hopes, that as ſoon as the wind

would gather ſtrength, they would ſoon enjoy an agreeable and temperate air, even if they continued in that high latitude. In conſequence of what the Admiral obſerved in his preceding voyages, he judged that in the navigation of *India*, about one hundred leagues from the *Azores*, a ſtriking alteration of the ſkies, the ſtars, the air, and the waters, would take place. "There, he ſaid, the needle declines about a whole quarter to the north-weſt; there the mariners come into a calm ſea, which never ſwells into billows by the moſt violent wind; there floating meadows begin, of which before not a ſingle herb was to be ſeen; thence an admirable mildneſs prevails, with an agreeable air." At laſt, the wiſhed-for wind began to blow, preceded by a more temperate air. Every hour the breeze became more refreſhing, and on the third day, the mildneſs which the Admiral had predicted in the weſtern region was ſenſibly felt. Thus, the navigation went agreeably on to the 30th of July, though in the end of the month the crews became very uneaſy and concerned, in conſequence of the wretched condition of

of the ſhips, and the want of food and water, as they could not ſee land, notwithſtanding their hopes founded on ſeveral preſages.

XXIII. Theſe circumſtances, and the apprehenſions that ſome diſorders might have invaded the colony, induced the Admiral to ſtretch his courſe northwards on the morning of the 31ſt, where he ſuppoſed the *Caribbee* iſlands, in hopes to ſupply his urgent neceſſities in that quarter, and then to ſail for *Eſpanola* with all poſſible haſte. *Alonſo Perez*, a ſailor from *Huelva*, deſcried, about noon, from the round top, three tongues of land about fifteen leagues to the weſt. The ſweet ſound: *land!* filled the hearts of the ſeamen with ineffable joy, but that of the Admiral beyond the reſt, who was very unwilling to relinquiſh the purſuit of an undertaking, which in his opinion was not leſs important and glorious than the very firſt diſcovery. He aſcribed the preſent appearance of land to the peculiar favour of Providence, and conſidered

the time, the form, and ſight of theſe three points of land as wonderful; a phænomenon which ſingularly anſwered his intention, to dedicate the firſt land he ſhould diſcover to the Holy Trinity. He performed his vow by giving the iſland the name of *Trinidad*, which it retains at this day. The name *Galera* in the ſame manner ſtands unchanged, which he gave to a cape ſouth-eaſtwards, on account of a little iſland lying near it, which at a diſtance reſembles a ſhip under ſail. When he reached this point, and could find no good anchorage, he ſteered farther weſtwards along the ſouthern coaſt, and caſt anchor there. On the firſt of Auguſt he ſailed farther in the ſame direction, in ſearch of freſh water, which he found near a cape which he called *Playa*: here the crew went aſhore, and filled ſome caſks, probably from the river *Moruga*; but as there was no other convenience to be found, nor any inhabitants to furniſh informations relative to the country, he ſailed to the ſouth-weſt point, which he called *Arenal*. He anchored between this point and a little iſle oppoſite to it, which he named *Gallo*; he ſent ſome boats

boats on ſhore, and laid in a full ſupply of water from ciſterns made by the inhabitants.

XXIV. The country on this ſide was low and uninhabited, which was not the caſe with the anterior, where ſeveral cultivated fields and traces of inhabitants were perceptible, the ſoil high, full of palm trees, and thick green buſhes full of leaves, to the margin of the ſea; ſo that it excelled, in pictureſque beauty, the proſpects of *Valencia* in the month of May. A canoe made its appearance with twenty-five *Indians*, who ſtopped within the flight of an arrow, and hollowed out, but could not be allured to approach, notwithſtanding the pretty toys which the *Spaniards* held out to their view. To pleaſe and entice them, a dance was prepared on the quarter-deck to the ſound of a little drum, but juſt as if they had heard the ſignal of battle, they immediately laid hold of their little round ſhields, ſeized their bows, and diſcharged a whole ſhower of arrows, on which they approached nearer to one of the caravels;

and

and as this furniſhed an opportunity of obſerving them for a ſhort time, it appeared, that they were fine looking well-ſhaped youths, of a brown colour, like almoſt all the *Indians*, though ſomewhat lighter than the reſt of the new diſcovered iſlanders; their hair was long, ſmooth, and tied up with ſtrings or bands; their nudities were covered with cotton cloth, artificially woven of different colours, the reſt of the body quite naked. Some feathers were obſerved on their bows and arrows, to which ſharp bones were faſtened. Their ſhields were the only novelty to the Admiral; for the *New World* had not exhibited any defenſive arms before.

XXV. The colour of their ſkin, however, and the ſmoothneſs of their hair, raiſed particular reflections in the mind of the Admiral. He was in the tenth degree of latitude, or thereabouts, but imagined himſelf to be under the ſixth, an error which he did not perceive in the whole navigation from the time that he began to ſteer to the weſt. He reaſoned with himſelf, thus: the *Africans* who

who live in that high latitude are black, their hair ſhort and criſped: whence does ſuch a ſurprizing difference ariſe betwixt the inhabitants of the ſame latitude? To ſolve this queſtion, our navigator adopted the opinion, that our globe was divided into two parts, by a meridianal line, which ran towards the eaſt over the countries of the *Seres*, at the limits of *China*, and weſt over Cape *S. Vincent* in *Portugal*. He did not doubt, that the hemiſphere known to the antients were ſpherical, and that the heat of it muſt be felt according to the degrees of latitude in the remote ſea, though with ſome difference from that on the land ariſing out of local circumſtances. But in the new diſcovered hemiſphere, juſt the contrary was perceived; for, in proportion as he approached to the centre of it, juſt under the equator, the mildneſs and amenity of the air increaſed. It was very perceptible beyond the meridian one hundred leagues weſtward of the *Azores*, but much more ſo in *Trinidad*, where cool refreſhing airs were felt in the morning, which muſt be more refreſhing in the midſt of the iſland. This ariſes, added he,

from

from the oval form of the hemiſphere, ſo that, as we advance farther, we aſcend, as it were, up-hill, and breathe the coolneſs of the ſuperior air; it follows therefore of courſe, thought he, that as the heat increaſes with the decreaſing latitude, the inhabitants in *Africa* are found ſun-burnt in the ſame proportion; copper coloured towards the Cape of *Bajador*, almoſt black in the iſlands of *Arguin*, and entirely black from *Sierra Leona*. In the *New World*, on the contrary, where the warmth of the ſun is tempered with freſh airs, the inhabitants of the ſame latitude are to be of the colour and ſkin of the inhabitants of the *Canary* iſles. Some later phænomena contributed to confirm this opinion, and to embelliſh this ſyſtem.

XXVI. On the firſt of Auguſt, *Columbus* diſcovered the continent ſouthwards, and called it *Iſla Santa*, (the holy iſland); he traced it to the weſt ſide, where it forms a narrow ſtraight with the point of *Arenal*, the eaſtern part of which he called *Boca de la Sierpe*, on account of its hideous aſpect. The currents that roll in thunder, and thoſe that

that ruſh from the oppoſite direction meet there and ſwell up like mountains; in this liquid ſtruggle, the ſhips hovered on the brink of deſtruction, and the mariners were nearly froze with anxiety and fear. The Admiral ſteered to the north, to ſeek out another mouth, which he found twenty-ſix leagues farther, and called it *La Boca del Drago*: it is formed through the north weſtern point of *Trinidad*, and *Cape de Lapa*. To eſcape new danger, he ſteered weſtwards, in hopes to find a better iſſue to the north, by ſailing round the iſland of *Gracia*, for this was the name which the Admiral gave to that part of the continent which ſurrounds, as it were, the enclóſed bay to the north. In this direction, he tarried along the coaſt from the 1ſt to the 10th of Auguſt, and found the ſea ſmooth, with ſome apparently ſecure harbours alſo. The land appeared beautiful; at firſt, high and thinly inhabited, but ſomewhat farther, more low, moſtly cultivated, and full of plantations. Some ſailors went on ſhore about five leagues from *Cape de Lapa*, they found a houſe without a roof, and ſome traces of inhabitants who had

had juſt fled. The fleet caſt anchor becauſe it was Sunday, which the Admiral never failed to ſolemnize, even during the voyage. It is eaſy to be underſtood, that on this day, the ceremony of taking poſſeſſion of the continent ſo long ſought for was celebrated. *Pedro de Terreros* took this ceremony upon himſelf, becauſe a diſtemper had fallen in the Admiral's eyes, which impelled him to remain on board.

XXVII. On Monday the ſhips ſailed farther, and by and by the *Indians* appeared on ſhore. Three or four of them were taken out of a canoe, carried on board, and preſented with glaſs beads, bells, and other trifles, in order to allure the reſt of the natives by theſe preſents, with which they were highly pleaſed, to purchaſe their precious wares, and to receive information reſpecting the country. The Admiral ſucceeded, a vaſt number immediately came in canoes to the ſhips, and renewed the pleaſant ſcenes of the firſt diſcovery in their admiration of the ſtrangers, the liberality with which they offered whatever they poſſeſſed, the deſire of

European

European toys, and their particular delight in bells, and every ſhining bauble. The natives touched, and ſmelled to the cloathes of ſome *Spaniards* which had gone on ſhore, and admired every thing given them with conſpicuous pleaſure. The chief theatre of feſtivities was opened in a place called the *Jardines*, (the gardens), the moſt delightful and populous part of the coaſt. Here the mute converſation and barter was carried on. The inhabitants brought parrots of different kinds, *Guacamayas*, bread, fruits, roots, and other things, reſembling thoſe of the *Haytites* and *Caribs*. But their drink was very different; ſome of white, and ſome of a dark-red colour, one of which taſted like the juice of unripe grapes. This was chiefly obſerved at the entertainments that were given to our people in the houſes of two head natives, or pretended Caziques. Here the *Spaniards* were informed, that the province was called *Paria*. The inhabitants reſembled thoſe of *Trinidad*, and the reſt of the gentler iſlanders, in colour and countenance, though they ſeemed better ſhaped, more intelligent likewiſe, and better cultivated; an opinion which

which aroſe from the novelty of the appearance, ſtrengthened by the frankneſs with which they replied to our unintelligable queſtions, the artificial workmanſhip of certain very light canoes, with a kind of chamber in the centre of them, and the beauty of ſome large quadrangular cots. The women went quite naked; the men commonly wore ſtriped cloths round their heads and loins; both ſexes wore ornaments of little gold plates, ſuſpended from the neck, and ſtrings of coral beads of ſeveral kinds. On enquiry after the gold mines, they pointed to the weſt countries, inhabited, as they ſignified, by monſtrous Anthropophagi. Some fine perforated pearls of various kinds, were intermixed with the coral beads: theſe raiſed the curioſity and avidity of the *Spaniards* to a high degree, and occaſioned the Admiral to call this creek *Golfo de Perlas*, (the Gulph of Pearls.) According to the account of the natives, this pearl fiſhery was at a diſtance far towards the north and weſt. Yet, he conjectured, that they might alſo be found on this ſhore, becauſe he ſaw a quantity of oyſters at the naked roots of the

the trees, which are called *Mangles* in the language of *Eſpanola*.

XXVIII. There was no opinion, however improbable, that *Columbus* was not able to convert to the ſupport of his own ideas. As the *Portugueſe* carried a quantity of gold, ivory, and paper from the coaſt of *Malaca* to the equator; he hoped to find even more precious things in the preſent country lying under the ſame clime, eſpecially from the conſideration of the temperate and mild air; for the winds were likewiſe as cool here as at *Trinidad*. In addition to the gold and pearls, traces of aromatics and ſpices were diſcovered. Certain trees were hung with fruits like the oriental *Mirabiles*, perhaps, thoſe that are known under the name of *Hobos*; *Columbus* looked on them to be the real *Mirabiles*. He did not doubt, but that he would diſcover other articles of value, if he could ſtop long enough to examine theſe countries, ſo remarkable in every reſpect. He formed theſe and other hopes on the opinion which the learned lapidary *Jayme Ferrer* pronounced by order of the Queen,

namely, "Towards the equator the moſt precious things are to be found in abundance." To collect theſe fruits, he reſolved in a ſhort time to ſend out thither an expedition under the command of his brother *Bartholomew*. His anxious thoughts which for the preſent were ſolely directed to the care of *Eſpanola*, and his deſire to preſerve the proviſion deſtined for that colony, which he had obtained with ſo much trouble, obliged him to ſail without any farther delay directly to that iſland.

XXIX. For this purpoſe, he weighed anchor at *Jardines*, about forty leagues diſtant from *Boca del Drago*, and ſteered to the weſtern bay of the gulph. The coaſt inclined to the ſouth; the depth of the ſea diminiſhed every moment; and his ſhip of one hundred tons burthen was in great danger. He conſtantly heaved the lead, and cauſed the ſmaller caravel to ſail along the coaſt. She went beyond the mouths of the rivers *Chuparipari* and *Guarapiche*, without finding any trace of an opening to the north. On the contrary, ſhe diſcovered that

that the coaſts to the ſouth-eaſt ran on uninterruptedly, except where they were interrupted by the mouths of the forementioned rivers, and other little ſtreams. On the 11th the caravel came back, on which the Admiral who gave up all hopes of finding the route that he ſought, reſolved to return to *Boca del Drago*. The violence of the currents towards the eaſt prevented him from ſteering along the coaſt; at laſt, he entered a harbour, which he called *Gatos*, not far from the point of *Lapa* or *Paria*, and the day following he ſailed into the dreaded mouth. But the wind ſunk into a calm in the midſt of the channel; the high and impetuous torrents ruſhed againſt each other with equal force; the ſhips mountain high remained for a time immoveable, and were in the utmoſt danger of being daſhed to pieces on the rocks on the coaſt. The diſmayed crew looked for their ſafety or deſtruction to the iſſue of the contending waves. Luckily, the currents of the gulph threw the ſhips into the north ſea. *Columbus*, filled with gratitude to Almighty, who had ſnatched him from ſuch imminent danger,

ſteered weſtwards, and left two iſlands to north-eaſt, which he called *Aſcuncion*, and *Concepcion:* the former lying north of *Boca del Drágo* about twenty-ſix leagues, ſeems to be that which now-a-days is called *Granada*. He purſued his courſe to the *Cape Tres-puntas*, and obſerved that the country of *Paria* extended to ſuch a length, that the end of it could not be ſeen. He wiſhed to be able to penetrate farther, in order to convince himſelf of his ſuppoſition of having found here the continent of *Aſia*. But the concern for the colony, the turbulent diſpoſition of the crews, and the diſtemper in his eyes, obliged him to alter his courſe. Before he launched into the main, he paſſed two iſlands at each ſide; he called that at the right *Feſtigas*, and the one to the left *Margaretha*. When he was in the open ſea, he ſailed about two hundred leagues in five days, ſteering moſtly to the north-weſt. On the night of the 19th, he arrived at *Eſpanola*, fifty leagues from the harbour of *Ozama*, and the following morning he caſt anchor at *Beata*.

XXX. He

XXX. He conſidered the eaſtern currents as the cauſe of his having ſteered ſo ſide of his courſe, which he ſuppoſed had driven him unperceptibly to the weſt during the nights, when he was obliged to ſlacken ſail, leſt he ſhould be driven on ſhoals or any unknown country. Theſe currents were ſo rapid in the gulph, that notwithſtanding the very moderate gale, he was carried ſixty-five leagues from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet. He attributed this rapidity to the height from which the waters of the new hemiſphere, which he repreſented to himſelf as reſembling the upper half of a pear ſuſpended by the ſhank, precipitated downwards as it were. Beſides this, the waters were driven northwards by the eaſtern currents and the winds prevalent in the torrid zone, and beyond the tropic of cancer. The ſame direction continued in the ſea, between the continent and the iſlands. To theſe currents he attributed the formation of the great archipelagus from *Trinidad* to the *Lucayan* iſlands, perſuaded that the waters had waſhed away the eaſtern countries, through their continued daſhings. Of this he found an evident mark in the

ſituation of the iſlands, which are narrow from north to ſouth, and on the contrary, of great breadth from eaſt to weſt; they lay, according to his ſuppoſition, near the continent on the extremity of *India*, the beginning of which he believed to be the province of *Paria*; the commencement of immenſe countries, which, according to the opinion of many eminent authors, muſt compoſe the greateſt part of the globe. He conjectured that the countries diſcovered about twenty leagues ſouth of *Trinidad*, occupied a large extent in that direction, that they ſtretched uninterruptedly to the point of *Lapa*, and inclined from thence to the weſt, where they roſe up in a huge chain of montains, which could be ſeen even beyond *Marguarita*. As to the coaſts oppoſite to *Trinidad*, which he took at firſt for ſo many iſlands juſt barely ſeparated, they afterwards appeared to him as one coaſt, and their apertures from the upper arm of the *Orinoco* to the creek of *Irapa*, as ſo many rivers. Their united currents in the gulph of *Paria* reſembled a large river of twenty-eight leagues in breadth, and the gulph itſelf a lake of freſh water,

water, hemmed in perhaps by an iſthmus, which united *Trinidad* and the continent. In fact, the freſh waters, whoſe founts are in the continent, ruſh with ſuch violence towards the north, that they ſubdue the ſalt currents that run from the oppoſite ſide.

XXXI. Such were the thoughts of *Columbus* at the ſurprizing view of the immenſe body of freſh water, and the extraordinary vehemence with which it precipitated itſelf. Whilſt he was endeavouring to examine the cauſes of ſuch ſtrange phænomena, the idea came into his mind, whether the ſcite of Paradiſe might not be found in the centre of the new hemiſphere, which lies under the equator in the higheſt region? Whether this wonderful tide might not flow from that eminence, and be one of the four rivers which, according to the Scripture, iſſued from *Eden* to divide the earth. This ſuppoſition appeared to him to receive an additional weight of probability from the temperature of the air, as ſome coolneſs was perceptible in the morning, notwithſtanding it was ſo near the equinoctial line. This temperature which,

in all probability, appeared to him ſtill more agreeable than it really was, in conſequence of the heat which he had felt in the calm region, and of the wet and rainy weather in which he had navigated along the coaſt of *Paria*; this mild temperature, which according to his idea, encreaſed in proportion as he aſcended muſt, agreeably to his ſyſtem, augment more and more, till it reached to the higheſt degree of perfection on the top of the height; a perfection to which the equality of the days and nights, the conformity of the ſeaſons, and the lofty ſituation above the ſphere of the earthly evaporations, and the region of the clouds and tempeſt, contributed very much. Such a concurrence of circumſtances, which, according to the ſaints and fathers of the church, were peculiar to the bleſt abode of the firſt pair, could only take place under the equator; and as it was moſt probable, that Paradiſe lay in the eaſt, it was as likely, that *Paria* might be the beginning of that delightful country. At all adventures, it ſeemed unqueſtionable, that the greateſt river ever ſeen muſt flow out of a large immenſe country.

XXXII. Time has evinced whether he was right in this conjecture, in which the ſyllogiſms of our philoſopher, after ſo many windings, ended. He loſt himſelf in this labyrinth, partly from the want of ſufficient lights, and partly from an adherence to a ſyſtem too raſhly adopted. He ſtarted, however, learned queſtions, and diſputations enough, becauſe to extenſive reading he joined obſervation, experience, and unremitting meditation, the only ſource of phyſical ſcience. He ſuppoſed a certain elevation of the globe about the equator, and natural philoſophers, in later days, have diſcovered that the earth is ſpheroidical throughout the whole compaſs of this circle. He conjectured, that the variety of the diſpoſition of the circumambient air had an influence on the needle, as he could not otherwiſe account for the cauſe of its declination. A ſeries of navigations and experiments has cleared up this variation, and proved that an intenſe cold ſometimes deprives the needle of all its magnetical affections; perhaps, ſome future obſervations on this ſubject may juſtify *Columbus*'s ſuppoſition. Even his error,

error, with reſpect to the circle deſcribed by the pole ſtar, of which he believed, that from an optical illuſion, it enlarged itſelf in proportion as the obſerver advanced to the equinoctial line, diſtinguiſhes as a philoſopher of the higheſt intellect of his age. I ſhall paſs over his opinions of the cauſes of the great variety of colours, which mark the human race that live under the ſame climate; a phænomenon which, notwithſtanding the preſent wide diffuſion of knowledge, is yet enveloped in as palpable obſcurity as it was in the darkneſs of the fifteenth century. Our illuſtrious diſcoverer began to develope this obſcurity, he enlarged the ſphere of geographic knowledge, taught by his example, to obſerve the œconomy and ſtructure of the world, and admirable was his perſeverance in the opinion, that the land he had juſt diſcovered muſt be a continent, and a new part of the world.

XXXIII. Filled with an enthuſiaſm inſpired by this perſuaſion, he wiſhed to enter the harbour, in order to ſend the report of ſo lucky a diſcovery as ſpeedily as poſſible to the

the court, and to entruſt the continuation of it to his brother *Bartholomew*. In the mean time, he intended to regulate and arrange the affairs of the colony, which gave him much concern. On the 20th of Auguſt, he diſpatched ſome *Indians* to inform the *Spaniards* of his arrival in the iſland. He himſelf ſteered eaſtwards, and ten days after made the harbour of *Ozama*, in ſpite of the contrary winds and the currents. The mariners, almoſt overcome with fatigue, repoſed and refreſhed themſelves in the new town, which, according to the Royal command, had been erected at the mouth of that river, on the eaſtern bank. *Don Bartholomew Columbus*, the founder, called it *Santo Domingo* *, after the name of his father; perhaps alſo in regard to the day, and the ſaint of that

* *Oviedo*, who reſided in this town about thirty years after its eſtabliſhment, thus deſcribes it; "But now, to ſay ſomewhat of the principal and chief places of the iſland, which is the city of *San Dominico*: I ſay, that with reſpect to the buildings, there is no city in *Spain* for its ſize, no, not even *Barcelona*, which I have often ſeen, that is to be preferred before generally. For

that name, which fell together with the ſolemnity of its foundation on the 5th of Auguſt, as Oviedo tells us. The joy of the Admiral

For the houſes of *San Dominico* are, for the moſt, built of ſtone, as well as thoſe of *Barcelona*. The ſituation is ſuperior to that of *Barcelona*, as the ſtreets are much wider, more plain, and without compariſon more direct and ſtraight; for being formed in our time, independent of the excellence of the foundation, the ſtreets were laid out with line, compaſs, and meaſure, wherein it excels all that I have ever ſeen. It is ſo near the ſea, that the wall only ſeparates one ſide of it from the ocean. The river *Ozama*, which is an excellent port, runs cloſe by the other ſide, and waſhes the foundation of the houſes, in which ſhips of burthen ſail very cloſe to the land, and, in a manner, under the windows of the houſes. The fortreſs and the caſtle are raiſed in the midſt of the city. The haven is very commodious for unlading veſſels, ſo that but few places in the world can exhibit the like. The chimnies in the city are about ſix hundred in number, and the houſes of which I have already ſpoken, ſome of which are ſo large and well built, that any lord or nobleman of *Spain* may lodge in them with his family and train; particularly that which *Don Diego Columbus*, the Viceroy under your Majeſty, occupies in this city, that I know of no man in *Spain* that poſſeſſes one equal to it, by a quarter in goodneſs, conſidering all the materials and commodiouſneſs

Admiral was very great at the ſight of his brothers and friends, the happy choice of the harbour, and the convenient ſituation

modiouſneſs of it; as likewiſe the ſituation, being ſeated above the ſaid port, and entirely compoſed of ſtone; conſiſting of many pleaſant and ſpacious rooms, with as fine a proſpect of land as can be imagined. It appears to me ſo princely and magnificent, that your Majeſty might be lodged as well therein, as in any of the moſt ſuperb edifices in *Spain*. A cathedral church has been lately erected of ſtone and lime, and of good workmanſhip, where the biſhop, according to his dignity, as well as the canons, are well endowed. There are likewiſe three monaſteries, bearing the names of Saint *Domince*, Saint *Frances*, and Saint *Mary* of *Marceo*, which are well built, though not ſo curiouſly as thoſe in *Spain*. There is alſo a good hoſpital for the relief and ſuſtenance of the poor, which was founded by *Michael Paſſamont*, your Majeſty's treaſurer. To conclude, this city is advancing every day in opulence and good order, as well, for that the ſaid Admiral and Viceroy, with the Lord Chancellor and Council appointed by your Majeſty, daily reſide here; as alſo that the wealthieſt men of the iſland reſort here for the moſt convenient reſidence, and traffic in ſuch wares as are either brought out of *Spain*, or exported thither out of her iſlands, which abound at preſent in ſo many articles, that they ſupply the Mother country with many commodities requiting ſuch benefits as it firſt received from *Spain* as it were with uſury."

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of the new town; yet it was very much embittered becauſe he did not find the three ſhips in the harbour, which he had diſpatched from the *Canaries*, in addition to which the rebellion of *Roldan* had thrown every thing into diſorder and confuſion, and as it appeared had attained to ſuch a height that it would not be eaſy to extinguiſh it.

XXXIV. When the Vice-Governor was apprized of the arrival of the two caravels in *Ozama*, he ſet out immediately for that place, whilſt *Roldan* took a poſition about ſix leagues from the harbour. The freſh reinforcements, the Admiral's letters, which promiſed additional food and troops, and the Royal letters to the brothers of *Columbus* fanned the courage, and revived the joy of the men that had remained faithful, and on the other ſide depreſſed the audacity of the inſurgents. The Vice-Governor, anxious for peace, ſent *Coronel* to admoniſh them in his name, to deſiſt from their wicked deſigns, to take the general good of the colony to heart, and to return to obedience; offering in that caſe a ſafeguard and a free pardon for all

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that had paſſed; but the ring-leaders were ſo obſtinate and exaſperated, that they would not even ſuffer the meſſenger to ſpeak in public, as they dreaded the influence of his ſpeech on the minds of their followers, nor did they yield to any thing but to go to *Jaragua*, and there to live after their own will and pleaſure; and ſo they did immediately, inveighing outrageouſly on their whole march againſt the Government, and endeavouring to render it odious to the natives. When it appeared that there was no hopes of bringing them back to their allegiance by mildneſs and perſuaſion, it was reſolved to proceed againſt them in a judicial way, and ſentence was pronounced, in which they were declared guilty of High Treaſon.

XXXV. The miſchiefs this diſorderly gang committed in the dominion of *Bohechio*, were not ſo ſoon perceived where the *Indians* were obliged to ſatisfy their wants, and to give up their wives and daughters to gratify their luſt and licentiouſneſs, and where they plundered them of the gold, ſilver, and other taxes, againſt which they clamoured ſo loudly. Yet the conſe-

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quences of their outrages appeared ſooner in *Vega* than elſewhere; the ſeeds of diſorder and diſaffection took root immediately. The chief Caziques united themſelves once more with *Guarionex*, to kill the few *Spaniards* who ſtraggled ſingly through the villages, and with collected force to deſtroy the town and fortreſs of *Concepcion*. The day of full moon, on which the barren almanack of the *Haytites* was founded, was deſtined for the execution of the plan. One of the *Caziques*, a conſpirator, armed his troops, and ſurprized the fortreſs before the hour appointed; but he was repelled with a conſiderable loſs of men. *Guarionex*, to whom he fled, was ſo enraged at his precipitate raſhneſs, which fruſtrated the whole meaſure, that he cauſed him to be killed; and as he now ſaw that the conſpiracy was diſcovered, dreading the vengeance of the *Spaniards*, he reſolved to ſeek his ſafety in a ſpeedy flight. Nevertheleſs, the reſt of the conſpiring Caziques drew their troops together and inveſted *Concepcion*. The garriſon, thus beſieged, however weak in number, repelled the firſt aſſaults, whilſt in the mean time the Vice-

Governor

Governor arrived with a conſiderable force, diſperſed with eaſe the panic-ſtruck aſſailants, and made a great number of them priſoners, ſome of whom underwent exemplary puniſhments, becauſe in this inſurrection *Juan Mates* the firſt convert, and his three brothers, who alſo had received baptiſm, were killed. *Fray Roman* declared, that he conſidered theſe, his diſciples, as martyrs, becauſe they yielded up their ſouls each in theſe words, "*Dios Naboria Daca*," "I am the ſervant of God."

XXXVI. After the inſurrection at *Vega* was ſtifled, it only remained to ſieze on the perſon of *Guarionex*. He had fled with his family to the northern mountains, inhabited by the *Ciguayans*, the rudeſt and boldeſt race in the whole iſland. *Mayobanex*, their chief Cazique, reſided in a place called *Cabron*, about ten leagues weſtward of *Iſabella*. He received the fugitive ruler of *Vega* with hoſpitality, and offered to defend him with his whole power againſt the Chriſtians. But how feeble is number and ſavage intrepidity, deſtitute of military diſcipline, and proper

 arms!

arms! The Vice-Governor marched to the mountains with ninety foot ſoldiers, ſome horſemen, and according to *Martir*, with three thouſand *Indian* auxiliaries, who, inſtigated by the deſire of avenging themſelves for paſt offences on the mountaineers, their neighbours, accompanied him with all their heart. He availed himſelf of them chiefly as guides and porters. He reached the mountains without any impediment, and halted on the banks of a conſiderable river. Having received information that about ſix thouſand *Ciguayans* were aſſembled in a wood on the oppoſite ſide prepared to fight, he marched up the river to find a paſſage that could be forded. He found one, but juſt as he was preparing to croſs it, the enemy with a furious clamour ruſhed forward and let fly a volley of arrows, in order to prevent the *Spaniards* from paſſing over the river. The latter, however, covered by their ſhields, purſued their way with little loſs, and diſperſed the Barbarian army. They now turned to *Cabron*, eager to engage with ten Caziques, and eight thouſand men, whom *Mayobanex* was ſaid to have collected. They

experienced

experienced little reſiſtance, but they were obliged to be very vigilant and watchful, and to examine the diſtricts before them, as they were inceſſantly harraſſed by ſeveral bodies of archers, who lay in ambuſh for that purpoſe. A formidable army was diſcovered near the reſidence of the Cazique, which on a ſudden ſallied out of the wood, attacked our men, and wounded ſome before they could protect themſelves with their ſhields. This, however, irritated the *Spaniards* to ſuch a degree of fury, that they routed the enemy in a moment, killed a great many of them in the purſuit, and made a conſiderable number of them priſoners.

XXXVII. After this, the Governor ſent word to *Mayobanex*, that he would be his friend and protector, if he gave up the Cazique of *Vega*: to which he anſwered, "That *Guarionex* was a good man, worthy of his protection, the *Spaniards* on the contrary were wicked, miſchievous, bloodthirſty invaders, with whom it was impoſſible to hold any friendſhip or commerce."

In order to puniſh this inſolence, he advanced to the capital, laid fire to many neighbouring places, and ſent another meſſenger with greater menaces, on which the diſmayed people began to lament, and unanimouſly demand that *Guarionex* ſhould be delivered up, as the cauſe of all their miſchief and deſtruction. Nevertheleſs, the noble and generous Cazique remained immovable in his reſolution, and reſolved rather to ſacrifice his life than to violate his promiſe and duty. Inſtead of remonſtrating, he broke off the negociation with the *Chriſtians*, and ordered, if any new meſſengers arrived, that they ſhould be put to death. This order was really put in execution on two *Indians*; the Governor, who followed at a diſtance, ſaw the ſanguinary deed with his own eyes. This procedure exaſperated him ſo highly, that he marched to the town with the utmoſt ſpeed; the petty Caziques, thrown into terror by the mere ſight of the *Spaniards*, immediately fled with their men. *Mayobanex*, when he ſaw himſelf abandoned, eſcaped alſo, accompanied by his relations and a part of his people. The reſt were leſs devoted to their chief

chief, on the contrary were about to kill the Cazique of *Vega*, the author of ſo much diſcontent; but he ſaved himſelf likewiſe by flight. The two Caziques concealed in the mountains, for a long time eluded the ſearch of the *Spaniards*, who wandered at random blindly about, through rough and pathleſs diſtricts, but found great difficulties in the execution of their deſign, notwithſtanding the terror which they had ſpread over the country. For the natives deſerted the villages, took their food along with them, and kept at a diſtance from the places through which the *Spaniards* paſſed. If one or more of them were caught by chance, they were either ignorant of the retreat of the fugitive Caziques, or affected to be ſo. Such fatiguing and troubleſome marches and the want of victuals—for there was ſcarce ſufficient *Cazabé* found—exhauſted the *Spaniards* ſo much, that the greater part of them was permitted to return to *Concepcion*. The Governor purſued his plan with thirty choſen warriors. One day when ſome of them out of want of other food, went to hunt for *Utias*, they alighted on

two *Indians*, who carried a load of bread for the family of *Mayobanex*, and forced them to diſcover the retreat of the Cazique. Twelve intrepid *Spaniards* took upon themſelves to ſeize him; for that purpoſe they undreſt themſelves and painted their ſkins in varied colour ſtripes, in the ſame manner as the warlike *Ciguayans* uſed to do. In this diſguiſe they ſurprized the Cazique with thoſe that belonged to him unawares, and carried them as priſoners to the camp, and thence to the fort of *De la Vega*, to which the little army victoriouſly returned, after an abſence of three months in the expedition.

XXXVIII. The *Ciguayans* gave themſelves up to deſpair, and became ſo dejected and intimidated, that they did not even dare to approach the Chriſtians to implore their mercy. Love, however, inſpired a certain man of diſtinction with ſo much courage, as to go to *Concepcion* to ſolicit a pardon for his wife, who was related to *Mayobanex*. His tears and entreaties prevailed, and his ſucceſs inſpired

others

others with hopes, that mercy would be alſo extended to their Prince; for this purpoſe they went, entreated, ſupplicated, and offered as the condition of their ſolicitations, the utmoſt ſubmiſſion and ſervices. They were ſo ſucceſsful as to obtain the liberty of his wife and family, but it was thought dangerous to enlarge ſuch a powerful Chief of ſo reſolute a character, and ſo much beloved by his vaſſals and ſubjects. As for the reſt, the *Ciguayans* conducted themſelves with ſubmiſſion and obſequiouſneſs towards the *Spaniards*; and to ingratiate themſelves in their favour, they diſcovered the unfortunate *Guarionex*, who wandered in a ſolitary manner through the mountains, and ſcarce ventured out of his dens or caverns unleſs when urged by hunger. A party was diſpatched to ſeize him; they carried him to the fortreſs, where he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. The Admiral ſeems to have taken a part in this ſentence, as well as in other regulations and tranſactions, ſubſequent to the ſeizure of *Mayobanex*, as he arrived in *Eſpanola* a ſhort time

after the concluſion of the expedition againſt the *Ciguayans*.

XXXIX. He found the whole country, as far as it extended between the harbours of *Iſabella* and *San Domingo* in breadth, in a peaceable and ſubmiſſive ſtate, but ſeveral provinces were laid waſte and deſolate. Many of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, a great number were condemned to ſlavery, others extirpated, partly by the ſword, partly by diſtreſs and miſery. The horrors of a protracted war were followed by the deſtructive effects of famine, which ſpread from our eſtabliſhments and forts univerſally over the neighbouring provinces. The remnant of the inhabitants abandoned their rural labours, partly through the want of tranquillity, the requiſite concomitant of agriculture, and partly, becauſe they ſaw that the fruit of their induſtry only ſerved to ſupport their enemies, and taſk-maſters. Of courſe, the inhabitants of *Iſabella* ſuffered moſt, as they were commonly the feebleſt of the *Spaniards*, and neither fit for war nor work. The deſo-

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lation began in their diſtrict; the ſucceſsful experiments in *European* agriculture, which had been made in that part, fell into decay; nor is it known, whether mills and other works which were begun were ever finiſhed. Thus it happened, that the poor dwellers of this town, who were entirely abandoned to a ſolitary helpleſs ſtate during the ſeditious and warlike commotions, fell ſick, and the mortality encreaſed every day, as they were quite deſtitute of *European* and *Indian* food; nor did they derive any advantage from the ſhips which arrived with freſh proviſions, becauſe they had landed on the oppoſite ſouthern coaſt, and the whole attention and care of the Vice-Governor was entirely directed to the foundation of *San Domingo*, and the ſedition in *Concepcion*. The *Spaniards* who domineered in thoſe diſtricts were in a better ſituation; for they ſtripped the villages of whatever they could find, forced the *Indians*, their vaſſals and ſlaves, to cede ſome plantations of *Maize* and *Yaca*, or to hunt *Utias*, and to work in the gardens which had been laid out in *Vega-real*. Notwithſtanding this, a conſiderable

conſiderable part of the ſoldiers, as well as of the other *Spaniſh* inhabitants in *Vega*, *Bonao*, and on the ſouthern coaſts were dying every day, and the ſurvivors led a miſerable and uncomfortable life, ſince they ſaw no proſpect of a reward for the many troubles and inconveniences which they had ſuffered. Even their ſcanty ſubſiſtance was procured with difficulty. The hopes of gold were almoſt abandoned. It ſeems, that *Belvis*, director of the mines, returned with *Aguado* without having made the leaſt trial; and afterwards, there was no leiſure for examining gold mines.

XL. *Roldan*, and his mutinous followers might only eſteem themſelves happy in the enjoyment of the abundance and pleaſures in which they lived in *Jaragua*, if the happineſs of a gang of robbers could be laſting, or if thoſe provinces had not been involved in the ruin of the other devaſtated provinces. The rebels themſelves, in the midſt of theſe licentiouſneſs, ſtung by remorſe and ſeized with fear, were diſſatisfied with their ſituation, and wiſhed to find

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an expedient to return with impunity. For all that, they dazzled moſt part of the people, by the falſe glare of luxury and debauchery, and made the government tremble, notwithſtanding the reinforcement which the Admiral had brought with him; for they had, likewiſe, found opportunities of collecting additional reinforcements and ſupport, as the three ſhips which the Admiral had diſpatched from the *Canaries* had landed at *Jaragua*. *Roldan* and ſome of his adherents apprized of the arrival of theſe veſſels went to the place where they anchored, and gave out that they lived in that diſtrict by the command of the Vice-Governor. They remained on board for two days, and purchaſed under this pretext fifty-four ſwords and forty croſs-bows, and a number of the new comers joined the party. It is certain that they ſoon learned the real ſtate of affairs, but it was now too late and paſt remedy. *Alonſo Sanchez Carvajal*, however, perſuaded himſelf that he might ſtill be able to remedy the evil, and perhaps reduce the rebellious, if he ſtaid for ſome time in their company. He reſolved, therefore, in communion with the other

other two captains to try this plan. As he ſaw that the eaſt winds and currents, which had driven the ſhips into that quarter, were likely to retard their voyage to *San Domingo* for a long time, he thought proper to ſend the artificers and workmen engaged in pay by land under the command of *Juan Antonio Colombo*, that they might reach it more ſpeedily, in better health, and without conſuming the proviſions brought from *Spain*. *Roldan*, perhaps, had influenced this reſolution. For the day after the men debarked, and were preparing to ſet out, they went over almoſt in a body to the rebels. Out of forty men *Colombo* ſaw himſelf reduced to ſix or ſeven. He repreſented to *Roldan* the ſervice of the King, the welfare of the colony, and other weighty reaſons, but all in vain. He found himſelf obliged to return aboard, and to follow *Arana* to *San Domingo*, where they landed on the firſt of September, after a long and troubleſome navigation, with ſpoiled proviſions and damaged ſhips. *Carvajal* arrived ſoon after without having effected an agreement, yet, not without hopes of bringing it about. He treated the inſur-

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gents in ſuch a manner, as to impreſs them with an opinion that they had found a mediator in him, who would heal the breach agreeably to their wiſhes. To facilitate the reconciliation, he prevailed on them to approach *San Domingo*. They really came to *Bonao* in four diviſions, led on by *Roldan*, *Pedro Riquelme*, *Pedro Gamez*, and *Adrian de Mogica*. He repreſented to the Admiral the power and pride of *Roldan* in colours calculated to render him inclined to lend an ear to the terms propoſed.

XLI. The neceſſity of acceding to theſe propoſitions was the more urgent, in proportion to the paucity of the number of thoſe who were able to fight for the government. The new comers were moſtly ſick in conſequence of the fatigues of the voyage, and the effect of a new climate. Out of the veterans ſome were exhauſted, others infected with ſedition, and the whole almoſt diſſatisfied with their ſituation in a country where they were forced to ſubmit to painful labours, with ſuch clouded proſpects of advantage and little intereſt. "As true, as God conduct

duct me to Caſtile," was the common wiſh and oath. Under theſe circumſtances, the Admiral found himſelf conſtrained to act in direct oppoſition to his inclination. To win the hearts of the people, he ordered it to be promulgated, that whoever wiſhed it, ſhould be permitted to return to *Spain* in five ſhips, which ſhould be fitted out for that purpoſe. He wrote to *Miguel Balleſter*, commander of *Concepcion*, to take care of the fortreſs, becauſe *Roldan* would approach it; he ordered him, to offer a pardon to the latter in his name, for all that had paſſed; and if he ſhould demand it, to give it to him in writing, that he might come as a friend to *San Domingo*. In the courſe of ſome days, *Balleſter* was informed that the rebels were already aſſembled in *Bonao*. He executed his command with fidelity, but he found the inſurgents haughty and uncivil. *Roldan* declared, he deſpiſed the proffered amneſty; for he did not ſtand in need of it, as he was ſufficiently powerful either to ruin or ſupport the government; and, therefore, he would not lend an ear to any propoſition until the *Indians*, who had been made ſlaves at *Concepcion*,

cepcion, were previouſly delivered up to him; finally, he would not recede to any terms but ſuch as were to his advantage, nor negotiate with any perſon except *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, whoſe prudence he knew from experience. This latter circumſtance cauſed the ſincerity and fidelity of *Carvajal* to be ſuſpected, independent of ſeveral additional ſigns of his ambition and good underſtanding betwixt him and the rebels. It was taken ill, that he had kept *Roldan* two whole days on board his ſhips, that he came from *Jaragua* eſcorted by a party under the command of *Gamez* to the frontiers of *San Domingo*, that on the ſame day he had ſent letters and ſome preſents to *Bonao*; however, in conſideration of his noble birth, and his conduct otherwiſe, the Admiral endeavoured to diſſipate the ſuſpicion raiſed againſt him, and with the conſent of the moſt eminent perſons, he authorized him to begin the negotiation.

XLII. This confidence only was able to accommodate the matter. The traitors grew haughty and inſolent in proportion to the

weakneſs

weakneſs of government. At firſt, they refuſed to liſten to this deputy, who was ſo much calculated to their wiſhes, becauſe he appeared without the ſlaves whom they had demanded; and all the prudence and eloquence of *Carvajal* was neceſſary, indeed, to prevail on *Roldan* and *Gamez* to viſit the Admiral, and to agree with him about the terms. Yet, the rebels oppoſed that, and declared, that if any conciliation ſhould take place, the whole of it ought to be done in writing, and with the conſent of them all. This opinion prevailed. Accordingly, they delivered in their terms, but ſo high and diſgraceful to goverment as might be expected from wretches, who were determined to puſh matters to the laſt extremity. This mutinous intention evidently appeared from the letters which they ſent, in which *Roldan*, *Mogica*, *Gamez* and *Diego de Eſcobar*, his former ſervants, renounced all connection with his houſe and ſervice, under the pretext of ſaving their honour and their lives, but, in truth, it was only to be able to continue their enmity with leſs diſgrace. *Balleſter* who accompanied *Carvajal* to *Bonao*, and whilſt the latter went backwards

backwards and forwards with the propoſed articles, ſtaid there, ſaw very well into their deſign. He wrote, therefore, to the Admiral, and adviſed him to ſettle the diſpute in any manner whatever, becauſe the fire of rebellion blazed every day ſtronger and ſtronger; otherwiſe, it was ſeriouſly to be apprehended, that the greateſt part of the people would join *Roldan*'s party, as ſome had done already. As the rebels alſo unanimouſly demanded to be ſent back to *Spain*, he exhorted him to conſent to that requiſition, becauſe otherwiſe, his perſon and authority would be equally in danger.

XLIII. Hitherto the Admiral had flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſeeing the matter ſpeedily accommodated in an honourable way, becauſe he was aſſured, that the hatred and animoſity of the Chief Juſtice and his partizans were levelled againſt his brother *Don Bartholomew*; for ſeveral inſurgents, about the time of his return, had ſued for interceſſion; even *Roldan* himſelf, had expreſſed a wiſh for the arrival of the Admiral for the purpoſe of reconciliation. Accordingly,

ly, *Columbus* had ſuſpended the diſpatch of the five ſhips, which were deſtined to ſet out towards the latter end of September, to the 18th of October, to the great detriment of the cargoes, which properly conſiſted of *Indian* ſlaves, who had fallen ſick and were dying in the harbour. Conſidering this damage, and the malice of the rebels, he ordered the ſhips to ſail without farther delay, and permitted the malecontents, who wanted to go, to embark. He ſent the report of the new diſcovery, with a chart of it, ſamples of the productions of the continent, ſome pearls, and little pieces of gold which he had received in the gulph of *Paria*, to their Majeſties. He drew their attention in his report to the pearls, as the firſt which were ſent from the weſtern world. He pictured the new diſcovered *Paria*, as the very country which ſeveral ancient writers had deſcribed as the depoſitory of immenſe wealth, and the theatre of wonders. He promiſed to realize theſe ſplendid hopes in a ſhort time, as three ſhips were already prepared for that purpoſe, and delayed only in conſequence of the negotiation with *Roldan*. He would, he ſaid, crush this

this rebel with his horde, if he did not return to ſubmiſſive obedience, or repair to the iſland of *San Juan*, till the deciſion of the court ſhould arrive. For he was obliged, in one way or other, to break the inſolence of thoſe rebels, and reſtrain the evils which aroſe from their rebellion to the colony.

XLIV. He made no doubt, but after a while, that he would be able to effect this; though at the time affairs wore a very lowering aſpect. The taxes were no longer paid, the country was inſecure, and the licentious *Spaniards* ſet the laws at defiance. The rebels treated the *Indians* in a cruel and tyrannic manner, killed ſeveral of them out of mere wantonneſs, compelled them to bear them about in palanquins, pillaged, robbed and ſeized on whatever they pleaſed; and abuſed the women in the moſt lewd and indecent manner imaginable. The loyal and faithful *Spaniards*, tainted by theſe nefarious examples, and reſtrained only by the perſuaſion and promiſes of a feeble adminiſtration, were not much better; moſt of them loiterers, who likewiſe kept *Indian* concubines; the good,

as well as the bad, had each two or three *Indians* in their ſervice. But he hoped alſo to apply a remedy to this evil as ſoon as harmony ſhould be reſtored, and to ſucceed in every thing if their Majeſties favoured his deſigns, if the officers of the court and in *Seville* would ceaſe to join in the clamours againſt *India*, diſcredit the ill reports induſtriouſly propagated of it, and not retard the proceeding, as they had done at the ſetting out of the laſt fleet, and thereby occaſioned ſuch detriment. For at preſent, he was reſolved to reſtore the colony to ſuch a ſtate, as to render it productive of the promiſed fruits. One only evil, ſaid he, muſt be borne for ſome years: that the *Spaniards* ſhould be permitted to avail themſelves of the *Indians*, made priſoners of war, as ſlaves. Accordingly, he ſent the ſhips freighted with ſlaves and Braſil-wood; both would yield on an eſtimate a profit to the crown of two millions of *Maravedis* a-year; and would encourage private perſons to embark with the government in that trade, which conſequently would be carried on briſkly, without the expence of the exchequer. As to wine and cloathing, *Spain* ought to furniſh them

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as before; but the colony would yield ſufficient to ſupply all the other wants of life in abundance. With reſpect to *Cazabe*, ſaid he, a kind of bread, which proves to be as nutritive and wholeſome, as it is agreeable to the *Spaniards*, the natives ſow large fields of it. There is alſo plenty of *Batatas*, and many other roots, known under the general name of *Ages*. The country abounds in rivulets and rivers ſtored with fiſh, as well as the ſea ſhores: as to animal food, there is an immenſe number of ſwine and hens. The *Utias*, much more pleaſant to the taſte than rabbits, are ſo numerous that an *Indian* in one day can furniſh his maſter with fifteen or more. Nothing is wanting, but that the chriſtians ſhould lead a chriſtian life. For this purpoſe, he thought it neceſſary at every conveyance to ſend fifty or ſixty of the refractory loiterers, and inimical individuals, to *Spain*, and to receive as many honeſt and induſtrious workmen in exchange; he alſo invited over many virtuous clergymen, calculated as well to promote the converſion of the natives, as to correct the morals of the *Spaniards*; beſides, a learned and expe-

rienced judge, for the pure and upright adminiſtration of juſtice, without which the eccleſiaſtics would be of little ſervice. Finally, he requeſted financial officers from the government; for he hoped that the taxes and contributions would revive again, and in general, that the Supreme Being would aid in finiſhing an undertaking began in his holy name.

XLV. After he had diſpatched the ſhips, he wrote to *Roldan*, that out of affection for him, he had delayed the ſailing of them as long as poſſible, leſt their Majeſties might be informed of his guilty conduct before they heard of his return to duty. He reminded him of the partiality which he had hitherto evinced for him, and of his duty to his Sovereign, to which he added a mild exhortation to induce him to come to an agreement on reaſonable terms. *Roldan* in anſwer to this, expreſſed his wiſh and willingneſs to comply with his deſire, and requeſted another ſafe conduct to enable him to carry on the negotiation. He obtained it and ſoon appeared in *San Domingo*. His conduct was

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ſuch as to excite ſuſpicion that he only came for the purpoſe of bribery, and winning over perſons to his party. For he propoſed high terms, and agreed to none, under the pretext of being obliged previouſly to conſult with his companions. After his return to *Bonao*, he ſent ſome articles of treaty that he knew would not be acceded to, with a letter, dated Tueſday the 6th of November, in which he ſays, That he could not prevail on his men to conſent to any more, and that on account of the want of food, he would march to *Concepcion*, where he would wait till the Monday following for an anſwer. The Admiral was obliged to conſult moderation, partly to avoid the terrors of a civil war, and partly out of the want of friends and adherents. Yet he maintained his dignity and refuſed to ſign the diſgraceful articles, though he was diſpoſed to enter into all admiſſible terms. Previous to the lapſe of time agreed on he ſent *Carvajal* to *Concepcion*, accompanied by *Diego* of *Salamanca*, his ſteward, as notary, with inſtructions and full power to conclude a treaty. At the ſame time he

tranſmitted a general pardon to all that had taken up arms againſt his authority, who ſhould ſubmit in a month's time to the legal government, and offered them permiſſion to return to *Caſtile*, if they deſired it, and aſſignments for the payment of their ſalaries; in caſe of non-compliance, he declared that he would proceed againſt them to the utmoſt rigour of the law.

XLVI. When the deputies arrived, they found *Roldan* blockading the fortreſs, under the pretext of getting a criminal out of it to put him to death. *Carvajal* by his prudence and addreſs knew how to appeaſe him, and alſo after a ſhort negotiation concluded an agreement. The proclamation, which held out a general pardon, was affixed to the gates of the fortreſs, which made the rebels only laugh. They reſolved at laſt, that *Roldan* and his partizans ſhould embark within fifty days in the harbour of *Jaragua* for *Spain*, in two ſhips properly victualled, and furniſhed with teſtimonials of their good ſervices and aſſignments for the payment of their due earned wages.

It

It was ſtipulated beſides, that they ſhould be at liberty to take a number of ſlaves along with them, or in the room of them, as many *Indian* women as were pregnant or had been already delivered of children. It was alſo agreed, that ſatisfaction ſhould be given for their ſequeſtered goods, eſpecially to *Roldan* for three hundred and fifty ſwine, with ſeveral other advantageous terms, relative to their rights and the ſafety of their perſons. After the Admiral had ſigned and ſent the treaty back to *Vega*, he publiſhed a declaration, ſtating, that any of *Roldan*'s party that choſe might remain on the iſland, either in the pay of the King or as proprietors of land, and have ſlaves ſufficient for cultivation; a plan which was very advantageous to the colony and moſt of the *Spaniards*. They all ſeemed, however, ready to leave the iſland, and went to *Jaragua*. In order to faciliate their departure, the expedition of the Vice-governor for the farther diſcovery of *Paria*, and the promiſing pearl trade, was ſuſpended, to the great grief of the Admiral. Three

ſhips

ſhips only were in fit condition to ſail for *Spain*; and of victuals there was alſo ſcarce ſufficient for ſuch a number as intended to embark. Accordingly the ſailing of the caravels, the *Santa-Cruz* and *Nina*, was delayed to the end of January 1499.

XLVII. As ſoon as the Admiral had got rid of ſo irkſome a buſineſs, he began to think of the beſt mode of arranging and ordering the affairs of the colony, of encouraging agriculture, improving the breed of cattle, working the mines, and ameliorating the ſtate and condition of the *Spaniards*. For this deſirable end, he committed the care of *San Domingo* to his brother *Don Diego*, and went himſelf, accompanied by his other brother, into the interior of the country. The firſt object of his attention was the neglected ſtate of the town of *Iſabella*; from thence he went to *Vega*, and travelled through the other provinces. In the month of May, when he expected the ſhips would ſail, he compoſed an ample detail of the ſtate of the whole iſland, addreſſed to the King and Queen,

in

in which he adviſed them to puniſh *Roldan* and his partizans, after their arrival, eſpecially thoſe under ſentence of tranſportation, who inſtead of ſerving out their time had joined the rebels, and ſignalized themſelves by every act of atrocity and depredation. He alſo adviſed their Majeſties to ſeize on the ſtores and the *Indian* concubines, amongſt whom were daughters of ſome of the Caziques, likewiſe the gold, of which, as the report was, they poſſeſſed large quantities, and in general all other things acquired by robbery and other illegal ways.

XLVIII. But on a ſudden he was apprized that *Roldan*'s adherents had altered their minds, and were determined to remain on the iſland. As a juſtification of their breach of the treaty, they pleaded the long delay of the caravels, which did not arrive at *Saragua* till three months after the ratification of the contract. They laid the fault of this on the Admiral. Indeed, the ſhips had put to ſea two months earlier, in the beginning of February, but they were ſo damaged in a tempeſt that they were obliged to

to return to be refitted. *Carvajal*, to whom the buſineſs of this expedition was conſigned, explained the cauſes of the delay, and ſufficiently pointed out to *Roldan* the impropriety of their pretexts; but all his entreaties and perſuaſive endeavours were in vain. The Admiral addreſſed a letter to the heads of the conſpirators, which only furniſhed them with freſh matter of ſcorn and deriſion. The ſhips were ordered to return to *San Domingo*. The perfidious wretches not content with the miſchief they had done, evidently betrayed their deſign, to perſiſt in their inſolence and wickedneſs. The prudent *Carvajal* exerted his utmoſt power to bring them to a proper ſenſe of ſubjection; but it was loſs of time and labour to reaſon with baſe-hearted, treacherous and contumacious banditti, yet what may not a wiſe forbearance obtain? Without appealing to the rebellious gang, he worked on the mind of the ring-leader with nervous remonſtrances, and took a friendly leave of him. *Roldan*, abſorbed in thought, offered in a polite manner to accompany him half way, and when alone with him, he

he teſtified his readineſs to follow his advice, and his wiſh to put an end to the conteſt. If the Admiral would conſent to another ſafe conduct, he would be glad to viſit him, and to make an agreement that would be ſatisfactory to both; but he thought it neceſſary to keep the terms ſecret, till they were ratified.

XLIX. *Carvajal* travelled highly pleaſed to *San Domingo*, and made his report to the Admiral on the 15th of May. *Columbus* teſtified the moſt lively gratitude for the man that reſtored public tranquillity; and anxious to ſee the diſaſtrous affair ſettled, he haſtened in perſon to the harbour of *Jaragua*. Previous to his arrival, the ſafe conduct deſired was diſpatched in the form of a regal placart. *Carvajal*, *Coronel*, *Pedro de Terreros*, *Alonſo Malaver*, *Diego de Alvarado*, and *Rafael Cataneo*, all men of great eſteem and credit, ſigned alſo an obligation with their own hands, in which they bound themſelves to defend to the utmoſt of their power the perſons and property of *Roldan* and his men during the negotiation,

negotiation, provided they did not undertake ſomething prejudicial to the King and his Governor. To gain time, and to continue the commenced view of the country, *Columbus* went with two caravels to them in the harbour of *Azua*, about twenty-four leagues weſtwards. *Roldan* came aboard the main ſhip, and propoſed another treaty, under condition that he ſhould be re-appointed perpetual Chief Juſtice; that a public declaration ſhould be iſſued, that all the commotions aroſe from calumnies and falſe reports; that fifteen perſons, whom he ſhould point out, ſhould be ſent to *Spain* in the firſt ſhip that ſailed for that country; and that the reſt of his party ſhould be allowed the right of poſſeſſion in the iſland. Every article was granted; on which he ſprung on ſhore and commanded the agreement to be ſigned, to which, however, he added the terms of the negotiation of *Vega*, and ſome other articles equally high, eſpecially, that if the Governor ſhould infringe the treaty, he and his allies ſhould compel him, by whatſoever means they ſhould think fit, to a due obſervance of it. Situated as the

Admiral

Admiral was, he ſigned it with this additional clauſe, that the King's commands and his own ſhould be obeyed. *Roldan*, in an inſolent manner, immediately aſſumed the title of Chief Juſtice, arrogantly ſtarted up and threatened all thoſe who diſobeyed his orders with the gallows. He behaved in the ſame haughty manner in *San Domingo*, where the treaty was ſolemnly ratified on the 28th of September, 1499. He conſtantly clung to his partizans, and looked down with inſolence and contempt on all the reſt, and kept them through threats in perpetual fear. He forced *Rodrigo Perez* to reſign his office, becauſe he would not have any other judge beſides himſelf in the iſland, except ſuch as he choſe to name, and ſoon after he appointed a creature of his own, *Pedro Riquelme*, juſtice in *Bonao*, where it ſeemed he intended to get firm footing with his adherents.

L. The Admiral winked at all this, and ſacrificed his private reſentment to the public good. For this purpoſe, he endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the

Spaniards

Spaniards by condeſcending complaiſance and lenity, to diſunite them, and employ every one according to his inclination. He left it to the choice of thoſe who wiſhed to continue on the iſland, either to enter into the King's pay, or to ſettle as proprietors of land, and that with this inducement, that they might make uſe of *Indian* ſlaves, or freemen, to till the ground aſſigned them. Moſt of them embraced the latter propoſal. He cauſed written aſſignments for the purpoſe to be diſtributed, and endeavoured in the beſt manner poſſible to unite the good of the planters with the public weal of the colony. He found means in a conſiderable degree to ſeparate the partizans of *Roldan*, who intended to ſettle themſelves together in *Jaragua*, and to diſperſe them in ſeveral places, ſome, where eſtabliſhments had been already formed, and others, where they were juſt begun, ſuch as *Bonao*, and *Santiago de la Vega*. It would, indeed, have been dangerous enough to ſuffer one hundred and two ſeditious perſons, a knot of mere lewd wicked rogues, to live in ſociety together, the more ſo, as the Governor could hardly keep an equal number

of

of ſoldiers in the chief town. But he was indulgent enough to parcel out land to them with an unſparing hand, and iſlanders to cultivate it. Thus, he granted *Roldan* ſeveral eſtates in the diſtrict of *Iſabella*, and others in *Vega-real* and *Jaragua*, with the liberty of employing the vaſſals of the chief Cazique, *Bohechio*, in the cultivation of his plantations. He alſo gave him two cows, two calves, two mares, twenty ſwine out of the royal herd, and very probably a number of hens. The quantity of land thus diſtributed may be conjectured from this gift. Neceſſity compelled him to it, as well as to the diſtribution of ſlaves, without any deſign, perhaps, of perpetuating the grants. This was the caſe at leaſt with reſpect to *Roldan* and his party, whoſe fate he expected would be decided by the court. As to the conceſſions made to the reſt, he does not expreſs his real opinion. In all appearance, he did not in the leaſt doubt, but that he had a right to force the *Indians* into the ſervice of the *Spaniards*, and to grant the latter, in the firſt inſtance, the uſe and profits ariſing out of the ſoil, and after four years the property of all the land, not even excepting the cultivated fields of the

iſlanders, which he gave away by thouſands, with the plantations of *Yuca* and *Ages*, in the dominions of ſome Caziques. In a word, he conſidered the iſland as a conquered country, and aſſumed all the pretended rights of a conqueror in the name of their Majeſties. Accordingly, his fellow-combatants were to have their ſhare of the ſpoil, and to be allowed to ſettle themſelves as poſſeſſors in *Eſpanola*, and to look upon the natives as their ſlaves. Such territorial diviſions were at that time eſtabliſhed under the title of *Repartimientos*, or the repartitions, and afterwards extended to all that was taken poſſeſſion of. About the ſame time he raiſed a company of ſoldiers, deſtined to march through the whole iſland in order to levy the contributions, which had not been paid for ſome time, to maintain good order amongſt the coloniſts and natives, and to ſuppreſs commotions in their commencement, if any ſhould happen to appear.

LI. Having triumphed over all thoſe afflicting embarraſſments, he thought of ſending ſhips to *Spain*, and with them the malecontents that inſiſted on leaving the iſland,

iſland, including the fifteen perſons named by *Roldan*, and a number of ſlaves. He authorized the two commanders, *Barrantes* and *Balleſter*, to urge his petition to the court, and entruſted them with the report which he had drawn up of the conduct of the inſurgents. In theſe writings, he detailed all the tranſactions, his ſufferings and diſtreſſes, with the cauſes which had driven him into ſuch an unbecoming and illegal treaty. He repeated what he had written in the month of May, and particularly preſſed their Majeſties to ſend out a learned judge, to put an end to the calumnies of the ſeditious, who did not ceaſe to murmur againſt his pretended rigour, though they had been treated with more lenity than their baſe and criminal conduct deſerved; nay, as if his heart miſgave him, that the reſolution had been already taken in *Spain* to ſend a chief juſtice, he requeſted that the authority of ſuch a judge might be limited, leſt it might become prejudicial to his prerogatives, as Governor and Viceroy. In the beginning he had a mind to undertake the voyage himſelf, and alſo to take his brother, the Vice-governor, along with

him, but important buſineſs induced him to relinquiſh this intention.

LII. The *Ciguayans*, who had tried in vain by every act of ſubmiſſion to obtain the liberty of their Prince, revolted a ſecond time, and committed horrible devaſtations at *Vega*. Soldiers were ſent thither to ſubdue them. On the other hand, accounts were brought of the arrival of four ſhips in the harbour of *Braſilia*, now called *Yaquimo*. On better information it appeared, that this fleet commanded by *Alonſo de Ojeda* came from the country of *Paria*, and it was ſuſpected, not without reaſon, that *Ojeda* had landed to take in ſlaves and precious dye-wood, which grows on the mountains of that diſtrict in abundance *. *Ojeda*, however, pretended

* As *Columbus*, after all his promiſes, was not able to ſend any thing from the *New World* but ſlaves and dye-wood, with inſignificant quantities of gold, as the equipment of fleets, the ſupport of the coloniſts at St. *Domingo*, and the ſalary of ſo many perſons who were then in the King's ſervice, as ſoldiers, magiſtrates, and other officers, coſt the crown large ſums, and the inſurrection of *Roldan* having protracted the hopes of finding out at laſt the real gold countries; the court thought proper to adopt

tended that from the want of proviſions, after ſo long a voyage, he had been under the neceſſity to make for the firſt harbour in the colony that preſented itſelf. In fact, he was buſily employed with fifteen of his men in an *Indian* village collecting bread, when *Roldan* arrived with a party of twenty-ſix men, ſent by the Admiral, to prevent miſchief. *Ojeda* ſatisfied him by ſhewing the royal letters patent, and his offer, that as ſoon as he had provided himſelf with ne-

adopt other meaſures. *Columbus* himſelf had recommended the propriety of permitting the trade, and the equipment of ſhipping to be carried on by merchants or other wealthy individuals, to relieve the crown from a portion of the expence. The court, therefore, or rather *Fonſeca*, the adverſary of *Columbus*, permitted private perſons in 1499 to embark at their own riſk in voyages to *India*, to ſeek and ſubject new countries to the crown, but not to touch either on the poſſeſſions of the *Portugueſe*, or the diſcoveries of *Columbus*. *Ojeda* was the firſt who obtained this permiſſion. He had accompanied the Admiral in his firſt voyage, reſided for a long time in *St. Domingo*, and was ſent in 1499, without *Columbus*'s knowing it, to *Paria* to examine more cloſely the pearl iſlands, ſo that his arrival was quite unexpected by the Admiral. The hoſtilities which he committed in *St. Domingo* aroſe from his not being ſubordinate to *Columbus*, and that *Fonſeca* had ſtirred him up againſt the Admiral. *Amerigo Veſpucci* ſailed with him in this voyage. See *Herrera*, Dec. 1. L. iv. p. 97, &c. T. N.

ceſſaries, he would viſit the Admiral and give him an account of every thing. A hypocritical ſubmiſſion, under colour of which he ſucceeded in appeaſing the deputy, and ſupplying himſelf immediately with whatever he wanted, from the end of the current year to the February following in the year 1500.

LIII. After all, ſo far from keeping his word, he ſailed to the gulph of *Jaragua*. As he found the *Spaniards* that lived on this coaſt ready to join in every deſperate enterprize; he reſuſcitated the flames of evil diſcord, and repreſented the Admiral as a cruel deſpot, who as ſoon as he found that his adverſaries were peaceable and unſuſpicious, would not fail to wreak his bloody vengeance on them, notwithſtanding the ſettled treaty. He declared, that his diſgrace at court was a matter beyond all doubt, as the Queen, his chief ſupport, was ſo dangerouſly ill, that the faculty did not entertain the leaſt hopes of her recovery. He himſelf boaſted of his unlimited influence over the Biſhop *Fonſeca*, who was inveſted with plenary powers in the department of *Indian* affairs, and made them believe, that he

he and *Carvajal* were authorized by royal commands to have a ſhare in the government, and particularly to effect the payment of the ſalaries ſo unjuſtly withheld*. By the means of ſuch artful inſinuations and remonſtrances he ſucceeded to bring over a great number of the inhabitants to his ſide, and to render them willing to go with him to *San Domingo*, for the purpoſe of humbling the Governor; as to thoſe who refuſed to take part with him, he intended to compel them to it by force, and for that purpoſe, he ſurpriſed them in the night, the reſult of which was a violent engagement, in which

* The *Spaniards* engaged in pay received in the *New World* only the neceſſaries of life from the public magazines, and their ſalaries after their return to *Caſtile*; theſe, however, were late or never paid, for which reaſon the adherents of *Roldan* made it one of their principal conditions, to have aſſignments for themſelves from *Columbus* on the King's exchequer. *Ferdinand Columbus* relates in the life of his father, that when the court reſided in *Granada* in 1500, he ſaw with his own eyes upwards of fifty *Spaniards*, who had returned, aſſembled before the palace, who, as ſoon as they ſaw the King, cried out to him *paga, paga!* pay, pay! He and his brother, who were pages at the court at the time, dared not appear before theſe people, without expoſing themſelves to inſults. *Hiſtor. del. Admir.* C. 86. p. 98. T. N.

a number was killed and wounded on both ſides. He alſo deſigned to ſeize on *Roldan*, but the latter was apprized of it, and marched with a ſtrong eſcort to *Jaragua*, and doubtleſs would have avenged his perfidy and manifeſt hoſtility with ſeverity, if *Ojeda* had not haſtily repaired to the fleet. He dared not venture again on ſhore, though he was invited in a friendly manner, in order to make up certain differences in a perſonal conference. They obſerved each other with mutual diffidence, and each endeavoured to outwit the other. The fleet ſailed along the coaſt to the province of *Cahay*. Here *Roldan* ſaw that it was not probable that an accommodation would be brought about; he therefore propoſed that *Ojeda* would ſend him a boat, that he might go on board and continue the negociation. *Ojeda* ſent one with armed men, but *Roldan* had no ſooner ſtept into it with ſix or ſeven of his companions, than he fell upon the men that brought the boat, overpowered them, killed ſome, and took the boat on ſhore. *Ojeda*, who had now only one bark left for the ſervice of the fleet, came in a friendly manner, gave the *Spaniards* back which he had carried away, and promiſed to

ſail

ſail away about his buſineſs, which he did as ſoon as he had regained his boat.

LIV. *Roldan* ſtopt for ſome time in *Cahay*, becauſe he diſtruſted the duplicity of *Ojeda*. When he was about to depart, he was requeſted by ſeveral ſoldiers to aſſign them domeſtic ſettlements, before he left the Province. It is true, he ſaid, that he ought to wait for the orders of the Governor; but as the entreaties of the people were ſo urgent, he thought he could not help acceding to them; he diſtributed lands and *Indians* amongſt them, and played the generous man by ceding to them a portion of the dominions of *Bohechio*, which properly was yielded up to himſelf. He alſo permitted a certain perſon called *Don Hernando de Guevara*, (a kinſman of his friend *Adrian de Mogica*) to ſettle himſelf in *Cahay*. This was a ſeditious wicked wretch, who under ſentence of baniſhment by the Admiral from the iſland, came to that quarter, after the fleet, in which he was to have embarked, had put to ſea. He ſerved as a clear proof of the diſorders which ariſe from too much indulgence. He perſuaded the renowned *Anacaona* to give him her beautiful daughter in marriage.

After

After a ſharp reprimand from *Roldan*, for his diſobedience in leaving the place aſſigned to him, and the impudence of aſpiring to a woman of ſuch rank, he was obliged, to his great mortification, to return to the quarter he belonged to. He was, however, ſo exaſperated, that he broke out into ſeditious and abuſive ſpeeches, in conſequence of which the chief juſtice ordered him to quit the province and appear before the Admiral. *Guevara* ſubmitted, and obtained pardon, in requital of which he ſtirred up other wicked fellows to plot the murder of the indulgent juſtice, or to put out his eyes. *Roldan* luckily diſcovered the conſpiracy, and nipped it in the bud by ſeizing on the ring-leader with ſeven of his hardened accomplices.

LV. I don't know, whether he intended to evince his moderation, in forbearing to act as judge in his own cauſe, or was induced out of reſpect to the Admiral; however, he reported the occurrence, and awaited his deciſion. A ſcrupuloſity very laudable in itſelf, but unſeaſonable in the ſituation of the colony at the time, as the Government was feeble, and the people tumultuous and debauched by indulgence. Under theſe cir-

cumſtances, a ſpeedy puniſhment would have had a good effect. The Governor alſo contributed to the delay of it, as he ordered the criminals to be ſurrendered into his own hands, a delay, which occaſioned ſucceeding mutinies. *Adrian de Mogica* endeavoured to ſet his kinſman free; for this purpoſe he ſtirred up the *Spaniards*, who lived in ſeveral parts of *Vega-real*, ſo that a number of rebels in a ſhort time crowded to his ſtandard. In ſhort this affair began to aſſume an aſpect not leſs alarming than the inſurrection under *Roldan*, but warned in time, the Admiral haſtened to ſtifle it. He was in fort *Concepcion*, with nine or ten men only, on whom he could depend; with this ſmall party, he ſurpriſed *Mogica* and his accomplices in the night, carried him as a priſoner to the fort, and cauſed him to be executed. Soon after he ſeized on other conſpirators, amongſt others *Pedro Riquelme*, who on a former occaſion had raiſed his reſentment. He diſpatched the Vice-governor againſt ſeveral others who had fled to *Jaragua*, who ſeized on twenty of them, and extinguiſhed the flames before they could ſpread farther in the weſtern provinces. As to *Roldan* he remained ſtedfaſt in his loyalty; *Guevara*

was

was conveyed to *San Domingo*, where he was impriſoned with the reſt of the notorious priſoners.

LVI. In this manner thoſe dark and menacing clouds paſſed away, and ſerenity every where appeared. The Government revived, and regained its proper energy. The *Indians* were peaceable, obedient, and complaiſant. Taught by long and ſad experience that the reſiſtance to the *Spaniſh* domination never failed to draw down loſs and ruin on their heads, they bent their necks to the yoke. For the preſent they only endeavoured to ſooth the pangs of rigid ſlavery, and to win the favour of their maſters. When they ſaw that they could inſinuate themſelves into their good graces by adopting their cuſtoms and religion, many of them began to wear garments, and to deſire baptiſm. This general ſubjection took place about ſix months after the laſt ſubjugation of the *Ciguayans*, which, it ſeems, did not coſt much trouble, as the cotemporary writers ſcarce touch on this rebellion; though it broke out at a critical time, when *Ojedo* on one ſide, and *Riquelme* on the other, promiſed but too ſucceſsfully to kindle the ſlumbering ſparks

of

of civil war; a criſis, dangerous to the Admiral, who had been reduced to the moſt mortifying conceſſions through the inſolence of *Roldan*. But what diſtreſſed him moſt of all, was the thought of his diſgrace at court, announced by *Ojeda*, and that to the injury of his privileges, glory, and intereſt, ſhips, without his knowledge, had been ſent to *Paria*, which ſubtracted from the growth and proſperity of the colony, which did not anſwer by any means to his flattering promiſes, and the fear of ſeeing at length ſo many rivals and enemies triumph over him. On the 25th of December, when his mind was invaded with a crowd of ſuch melancholy ideas, which almoſt drove him to the verge of deſpair, he had recourſe to God, and was comforted in a wonderful manner. He fancied he heard the voice of the Lord, who cheered him, pointed out ways and means, and promiſed him abundance of gold. On the ſame day he was informed that rich ores had been diſcovered every where within a circuit of eighty leagues. Encouraged by ſuch a promiſing beginning, he did not leſs cheriſh the avidity than the induſtry of the *Spaniards*. He granted them what they had ſo ardently

deſired

deſired long ago, to acquire gold for their own uſe, and to avail themſelves of the *Indians*, not only in their huſbandry, but alſo in the mines; and the profit in both anſwered the induſtry and the avidity, ſo that ſcarce any one deſired to remain on the ſalary liſt, becauſe thoſe that poſſeſſed lands and *Indians*, lived in eaſy circumſtances, had abundance of victuals, and the faireſt proſpects of growing rich. Thoſe that worked in the mines, uſually earned from ſix to twelve gold *Caſtellanos* * a day; ſome raiſed it to fifty, ſome to one hundred and twenty, nay many to two hundred and fifty, which equal five marks †. The King, in whoſe name the Governor took poſſeſſion of conſiderable eſtates, had not only his own *Indian* ſlaves employed in the ſearch of gold, but alſo re-

* *Caſtellano de oro*, a gold coin, which is no longer current. As Mr. *Munoz* does not ſtate the value of this coin, it is to be ſuppoſed that he means the *Excellentes* by it, which were coined from 1497 to 1516, partly of *Indian* gold, for theſe were alſo called *Caſtillianos*. T. N.

† *Ferdinand Columbus* aſſures us, that at the time pieces of maſſive gold had been found, which weighed as much as one hundred and ninety-ſix ducats. *Hiſt. del Admirante*, c. 84, p. 97. T. N.

ceived

ceived the third part of all gold collected by private perſons. The royal coffers accordingly roſe in proportion to the proſperity of the coloniſts.

LVII. *Columbus* felt not a little ſatisfaction when he ſaw ſo many difficulties ſubdued, and the *Spaniards* pleaſed and induſtrious. The *Indians* were ſo reconciled to their fate, that a perſon could travel over the whole iſland without expoſing himſelf to the leaſt danger; ſo tractable and ſubmiſſive that it did not require any difficulty to draw them from their own ſcattered plantations and little villages, into the new eſtabliſhments of the *Spaniards*; a circumſtance which *Columbus* hoped would contribute very much to facilitate the civilization of the natives, the diſſemination of chriſtianity, and the eſtabliſhment of good order in the payment of the taxes *. He flattered

* Every *Indian*, who paid the tax laid on him in gold or cotton, received at every time of payment a ſmall counter of copper or braſs, which he was obliged to wear on his neck, and which was exchanged every three months for another marked with a different ſtamp, in order to mark the good and prompt contributor, from the bad and tardy one. *Herrera, Dic.* 1 Lib. II. p. 61. T. N.

himſelf,

himſelf, that in the courſe of three years the royal revenues ariſing out of the colony would amount at leaſt to ſixty millions of maravedis. In addition to this, he planned the eſtabliſhment of a fort in *Paria*, with a factory for the pearl trade. His mind became unruffled and ſerene with ſuch ideas and animating proſpects; he began at length to taſte the fruits of his labours, and perſuaded himſelf that he had ſettled affairs on ſuch a baſis as to ſatisfy their Majeſties, and to triumph over his enemies. But how unſtable is the happineſs of man, how evaneſcent his hopes! Scarce a month had elapſed, ſince he began to ſee the end of ſo many diſtreſſes and ſorrows, and to believe that the moment had arrived, when he might repoſe himſelf, and enjoy the reward of his toils, when he experienced a diſaſtrous blow, which embittered all the remainder of his life.

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who arrives with requiſite inſtruction and authority, to remedy the grievances and complaints of the coloniſts, and to enjoin a gentle treatment of the Indians, and to promote their inſtruction and converſion to the chriſtian religion, but who arrogates a power beyond his authority---The Admiral receives an account of the gold mines of Hayna, the richneſs of which gives birth to the opinion of Eſpanola being the Ophir of Solomon---The Admiral reſolves to return ſpeedily to Spain---he commits the government to his brother Bartholomew---After a difficult and troubleſome voyage he arrives at Cadiz.

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Inſolent

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.